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Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000ff1e>

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ACCOUNTABILITY, Its use as a strategy in  
the management of school teaching staff

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE

Discipline : Centre for Policy and Management  
*The Open University*

January 1989

*Date of submission: 1 February 1989*

*Date of award: 10 December 1993*

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## ABSTRACT

In this thesis I have examined some of the ways in which the notion of accountability appears to influence the management of school teaching staff.

As a background to this analysis I have referred, both to the literature appertaining to management and to those broader sociological traditions that have concerned themselves with questions of authority and order. From this general theoretical background I isolate a number of forms of accountability, noting how these are capable of both independent influence and more complex, compound modes of operation.

In an attempt to provide illustrative examples of many of these aspects of accountability I have examined four case studies. Each of these is based upon a formal dispute, involving both head and assistant teachers.

From this analysis I develop a range of points, these leading to a number of tentative conclusions. Most important of these, concerns the distinction between accountability as a means of motivating action and as a way of retrospectively explaining, justifying and ultimately legitimating actions. In examining these various manifestations of accountability, I refer, both to the theoretical basis and to the operational characteristics of the concept, developing such notions as the nature of managerial strategy and the influence of micro politics.



The case study work helps to show how this division, between accountability as a motivating force and, as a means to explanation, is not a simple division, but one based upon a complex relationship that is both confused and confusing.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

There is a disparate but identifiable literature associated with the notion of accountability and its application to the field of educational management. There are also a considerable number of volumes devoted to managerial practice, many of these tending towards prescription and written from a functionalist perspective. The theories that form the basis for much of this literature are often associated with a concern for the necessity of accountability and a desire for its efficient use. In a number of cases these works are of little relevance to schools and at worst tend to obscure the realities of day to day organisational life. Aware, therefore, of the dangers associated with much of this form of analysis I have attempted to locate my investigation within a framework of more general sociological literature, especially that which deals with the nature of control.

From this base I have set out to demonstrate some of the ways in which accountability can be used as a means of explaining various managerial and organisational actions. In an attempt to achieve this I have divided the thesis into three broad sections. The first two of these sections deals with the theoretical background to the accountability debate. In order to establish a base for future work I begin by examining various contrasting

macro level theoretical traditions. To impose some order on this potentially contradictory and confusing mixture of notions and concepts I suggest a three fold typology. This I develop in Chapter Two, showing both the unique characteristics of the various notions described, and the ways in which they support and complement each other. Of particular significance, in this typology, are those forms of accountability that are based upon 'lawful' structures, those that rely upon financial and contractual factors and the various notions of professionalism.

In the second section of this theoretical review I turn to the micro-level of analysis. Here I examine the concept of managerial style, using as a basis the conventional ideal-type models as well as the more contemporary micro-political approach. Also, in this section, I attempt to refine the notion of strategy, by adapting Lukes (Ref Lukes, S 1974) three dimensional view of power in order to create my own hierarchial model of strategic activity.

From these three chapters I then turn to a major section dealing with the case study data. I have selected, from a number of items at my disposal, four sets of case notes, each one referring to a different dispute and each emanating from a different school. All the disputes have involved union officials and are therefore termed formal, although they vary from the relatively minor concerns expressed by a school's union membership

to a full Grievance Procedure Hearing. In this examination of the case study examples I seek both to interpret them, in the light of the preceding theoretical chapters, and to develop the analysis towards certain tentative conclusions.

A major theme that runs throughout the case study analysis concerns the manner in which accountability seems to operate. Two distinct ways can clearly be identified. At times it appears as a motivating influence, a stimulus for actions with various philosophical or ideological beliefs determining the outcomes and events. In contrast, there is evidence to suggest that accountability is also used as a strategic device, for retrospective interpretations, explanations, justification and legitimation of past actions. This dichotomy in the usage of accountability is not as simple as may first appear, for these two models intermix, making any analysis both difficult and, often highly speculative. In part this is a result of the nature of the data and the methodology used, but it is also an indication of the complex way that accountability works within organisational and managerial practice.

In my conclusions I both review the preceding chapters, highlighting those concepts that I consider to be important and indicate some of the ways in which this research can be extended. Changes in legislation and, in the way that the teacher's role is perceived, will

alter the organisational and managerial aspects of education, motives for action and the strategic means by which they are explained are also likely to change. It seems probable however, that accountability will remain as an important part of the process, and as such, will continue to appear in theoretical analysis and explanation.



## CHAPTER TWO

### An Examination of the Key Theoretical concepts that assist in explaining the nature of accountability

The concept of accountability is a complex one, in many ways it functions as an umbrella, encompassing a wide range of often contradictory, notions beneath its overall cover. In an attempt to clarify this complicated array of theories and notions I introduce three key conceptual areas that together form a tentative typology of the main aspects of educational accountability.

The key conceptual areas are

- A Formal theoretical systems, where accountability is based upon laws that are considered 'natural' or that have been created by those who define the organisational structure.
- B Sound Investment and Returns: Accountability based upon the financial considerations of Profit, Value for Money and related contractual obligations.
- C Accountability based upon claims of and for Professionalism.

I now intend to examine each of these items as separate entities: each one representing an ideal type model that can be used as a means of theoretical analysis. Here it is important to appreciate that as ideal types they exist as independent conceptual models whereas in reality they frequently join with each other often in a complicated interwoven manner.

I Formal Theoretical Systems (including those that purport to establish 'laws' of social organisation

Introduction

In this, the first section of my typology of educational accountability I examine a number of items that fall under the broad title of 'Formal Theoretical Systems purporting to establish laws of social organisation.' These items have been developed from a range of varied philosophical and theoretical basis but share a common propensity towards 'lawful' structures. In my first subsection I examine some of the relevant aspects of the work of Thomas Hobbes and develop the notions of Liberal Individualism and Scientific Positivism as a means to explaining various aspects of accountability. In dealing with these disparate theoretical types my concern is with emphasising the essential similarities of outcome common to each. Here society is seen as being governed by laws that are either created to explain social structures or somehow exist independently of them. From these traditions develop the view that social order, and the laws that governs it, is satisfactory but that 'fine

tuning' is needed in order to ensure the 'satisfactory' operation of the 'mechanism'. Here I highlight the various aspects of educational accountability that can be interpreted as being examples of this 'fine tuning'. Important here are the ways in which the practice of this theory has the power both to control actions and to bog down the individual in the resultant mass of minutiae and data. This area has special implications for teachers as it influences the nature of their role and professional power base. This latter point I will develop in type three of this analysis, later in this chapter.

In my second sub-section dealing with 'lawful' theoretical bases of educational accountability, I focus on the concept of bureaucratic/legal rationality, here I include an examination of the concept of authority and argue that the two conceptual areas - accountability and authority - have a close affinity. By making a fairly detailed examination of the main characteristics of bureaucratic rationality, using as a base the model formulated by Weber (ref Weber M 1946) and compiling this with an analysis of the main criticisms levelled at this model I highlight certain major themes that are relevant to my later case study analysis.

### Thomas Hobbes

The first philosophical basis that I use in trying to establish some form of theory relating to educational accountability has a somewhat ambiguous nature, but in general follows the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes (1588-1679) argued (largely in 'Leviathan' published in 1656) that the first need of society was order, for man in his natural condition seemed prone to an existence of war of all against all and that society represented the natural, and only way, of self-preservation. For society to exist, faced against these disruptive odds, authority had to be imposed. Under such conditions concepts such as justice were seen as artificial and could only exist as imposed laws, given by the sovereign power. The state, in short, was the Leviathan, tolerable only because without it man's life would be uncertain and chaotic. Here man was seen as being in conflict with the Leviathan which somehow existed independently with its own laws and established realities. The relevance of this analysis to the discussion of accountability lies in the way in which such social laws are perceived. Man is here seen as accountable to the external forces of the state and its laws, and that without these laws he would be in peril of slipping into chaos.

### Liberal Individualism

At the simplistic level of analysis the philosophy of Liberal Individualism would appear to be the antithesis of Hobbes' theory of man versus the state. However, at a deeper level the two arguments share certain common assumptions. Both theoretical models are based upon the idea that society is in some way separate from its own fundamental laws and rules which nourish, control and sustain the system.

In Hobbes' interpretation of society the laws which govern the state exist as natural phenomena - universal precepts applicable to most societies and to most members of those societies - whereas for the Liberal Individualists the laws are products of their own constructions of reality. Thus the freedom that the Liberal Individualists claim as a fundamental premise of their philosophy, is limited to those who share this conception of reality. An analogy can be drawn here with the governing or formal decision making processes used in Ancient Greek society, where the slave class was ignored. Thus many of the 'laws' that are contained within the philosophy of Liberal Individualism can be seen as no more than means by which group interests can be maintained and society made to work towards their benefit and achievement.

Despite the inherent weakness in these argument these philosophical concepts have had a major influence on both the social and economic life of the 19th and 20th

centuries. A typical example of this comes with the work of Adam Smith (1723-1790) whose economic theory was based upon the belief that individuals possessed a 'free choice' and that this was the main factor in ensuring a satisfactory economic situation, with market forces working undisturbed. Although rarely pursued to its ultimate ends (or at least not publicly so) the 'natural justice' that results from this conception of a free, natural society results in a form of Social Darwinism. A modern manifestation of these neo-liberal notions is the concept of monetarism. For the system (society) to operate successfully, all that is necessary is that the laws are to be made operable, whether by Free Trade, market forces or any other mechanism. Such theoretical constructions result in their own particular form of accountability; here the individual becomes subservient to the impersonal demands of external forces and is held directly accountable for the smooth operational efficiency of the system. This theoretical standpoint brings with it its own interpretations of a range of different facets of education, for example, areas such as compensatory and remedial education are explained away as means of applying corrective devices to the operations of the system and not as indicators of any fundamental weakness in its overall design or structure. Likewise teachers, or others, who do not meet with the pre-conceived views of Headteachers, Governors or Advisors etc are labelled as deviants, out of step with

the methods and 'laws' of the accepted system.

These philosophical views of the nature and structure of society form the basis of two of the ways in which organisations can be explained these being the notions of Scientific Positivism and Bureaucratic Rationality.

### Scientific Positivism

The first of these, Scientific Positivism, has much in common with many of the other basis of 19th century philosophy and is explained most fully in the writings of Auguste Comte. Comte (1798-1857) claimed that the intellectual history of mankind led through theology and metaphysics towards sociology, and that sociology (as the ultimate form of analysis) represented the scientific search for efficient causes and invariable laws. Comte, like his predecessor, Saint-Simon, believed that the spread of the scientific method provided the basis for a more rational form of social life. Later authors use the terminology associated with these two writers in a variety of loosely related ways, making a clear understanding of it difficult; yet in sociological usage a core of meaning is generally present. Natural Science (rather than, for example History) is always taken as the paradigm of human and social knowledge and that this science is there in order to investigate problems which somehow simply exist. In the context of this thesis Scientific Positivism highlights the concern with detail, techniques and methodology and the ways in which individuals can be held accountable for their

operation. This can be seen in a more modern context in much of the Curriculum Theory of the 1960s and early 1970s where the emphasis was not upon the philosophy and ideology behind education but upon methods of choice, selection, assessment etc. Accountability, from the standpoint of these curriculum theorists was reduced to a largely technical, bureaucratic or administrative problem. An example of this typically positivistic approach is taken by Socket (ref Socket H 1980 page 10) where he claimed that "... The purpose of an accountability system is, in part contained in the meaning of the word, which at a simple level, is to hold someone to account. Yet the main point on which all its advocates would agree is that it is an attempt to IMPROVE education"...

Implicit in this theoretical stance is the view that society is an a priori condition and does not need to be in itself an object for critical examination prior to possible radical change. Accountability is seen as fulfilling the 'needs' of society or as in Socket's wording "improving society" (ibid). Here the emphasis is on systems maintenance. Other examples are readily available. Wilhelm (ref Wilhelm F T 1967 page 132)

parallels the process of evaluation and feedback with ... "the great breakthrough in technology - the one called automation and even more, the one called cybernation, is the spring of feedback. The scientist and the engineers learned right into the machine the capacity to gather data from what the machine had just done, and what has happened as a result, and feed this data back into the decisions making system, controlling what the machine should do"... Here Wilhelm is following the well established practice of using mechanistic analogies to explain social phenomena. Another typical example related to this approach was the



one time fashionable use of teaching kits that were said to emanate from so called teaching laboratories. The terms kit and laboratory being specially selected for their 'scientific' and technical inferences, and therefore, for some, their supposed academic respectability.

Two important factors related to this form of 'scientific' methodology are the ways in which they both direct the individual's attention and secondly the way in which they have the power to confuse, through a proliferation of data, statistics and objective qualifications. The resultant material, sometimes referred to as being teacher proof, has by its apparent objectivity an appeal to the uncritical observer or user. Pupils, parents and employers etc are attracted to the scientific/technical nature of the material, seeing it as 'highly suitable' for this 'scientific' age. It, also has attractions for the busy teacher for those who use the material are not held responsible for its content and find that it can be used strategically as a defensive shield against criticism. By only dispensing the material the teacher is only held accountable for the system's maintenance and needs. The adoption of these and similar methods has also had a more fundamental effect upon the nature of the teacher's role and resultant power base. The use of these teaching materials is a major factor in the debate concerning the proletarianisation of the teaching force. This

discussion is mainly concerned with the changes that have taken place in the nature of teacher work, as seen in the context of alterations in the capitalist system of production. Most important of these changes, as far as this concept is concerned, are those that result in workers being deprived of the opportunity to both plan and develop a work activity and to subsequently be allowed to carry it through to production. Lawn and Ozga (ref Lawn M A and Ozga J T 1981) see this reduction in work autonomy as a significant process in that it may eliminate certain contradictory class locations by providing a more clear cut definition of the teacher's role.

A number of examples are available that help to illustrate this phenomenon. Hilsum and Cave (ref Hilsum S and Cave B - 1971) claim that the clerical tasks associated with registration, collecting money and general administration can take up to 20% of the teacher's working day. More recent developments in pupil profiling, continuous assessment, G.C.S.E., C.P.V.E. etc reinforce this claim and suggest that the percentage level indicated is a very conservative one.

Another factor that has contributed to this growth of proletarianisation is the high level of unemployment that has coincided with a reduction in staffing levels brought about by the fall in the birth rate that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s.

In addition redeployment and the 'flexible' use of non-

specialist staff has weakened the power base that, in the past was held by the specialist subject disciplines. The use of teaching packages and work schemes produced either by commercial organisations or by other teachers has allowed non-specialist teaching to take place, even in the Maths and Science areas of the curriculum, in both Middle Schools and amongst the less able pupils in the Secondary sector. I have already indicated that one of the major characteristics of the positivistic approach is the emphasis on systems maintenance and operational practice, this is a characteristic that is also found in a proletarianised teaching force. For many teachers the promotional route does not develop from either subject expertise or good classroom practice, but comes through undertaking management or administrative responsibilities. This belief is well supported by an examination of the distribution of the senior positions in the average high school, here some Headteachers and deputies along with other senior staff, operate at a purely administrative level. With the introduction of devolved financial management this trend is bound to continue, and possibly expand. In America the teaching force has been 'diluted' still further by the introduction of 'paraprofessionals'. These are unskilled ancillary workers that being part time and on short term contract represent a major financial saving to the salary budgets. The present British Government (1988) seems to be thinking along similar lines with the

suggested use of non-certificated teaching staff, employed as 'licensed' teachers.

The developments in American schools that relate to calls for greater economic efficiency and value for money will be examined later in this chapter, when I deal specifically with this aspect of the concept of accountability.

In this section I have attempted to highlight certain important points. Firstly that the various notions of Scientific Positivism and Neo-Liberalism have a relevance to the understanding of teacher accountability. These theories emphasise the importance of allowing the system to operate without interference, the individual being responsible not for the overall structure but for the detailed aspects of operational practice. By reducing the teacher's role to one where they operate as administrators and dispensers of pre-packaged learning materials I have referred to the growth of proletarianisation and its related consequences for teacher accountability. In Chapter IV of this thesis I will attempt to illustrate various specific manifestations of these conceptual areas more fully.

#### Bureaucratic Rationality

My second section, in this the first item in my typology of the overall concept of educational accountability, is the notion of Bureaucratic Rationality. Like the concepts contained in the previous section this is a

theoretical system devised to develop an understanding of the nature of certain formal organisations and the 'laws' that maintain them. In order to clarify this somewhat complicated notion I begin by referring to the related concept of authority. The affinity between these two conceptual areas arises out of the concomitant duties and responsibilities that result from the acceptance of a social relationship in which an individual, or group, is under the positive influence of another. The nature of this influence or control is varied, ranging from the effects of ideology through to the administration of crude power. The key factor is the implicit or explicit acceptance of this control. This being so, accountability and authority can be seen as related notions, in that those who are under authority are in some way accountable to those who administer them. The relationship need not be as simple as between ruler and ruled for, under certain conditions, such as when those in authority are invested with their powers by those whom they rule, a reciprocal relationship may exist. In such cases accountability operates in both directions, a manifestation of this occurs in those bureaucratic structures when the hierarchy is only allowed to function because of the active support of the lower levels.

### Max Weber on Authority

Of importance to any analysis of authority, as a theoretical concept are the seminal writings of Max Weber (ref Weber M 1946). From his works one is able to obtain a number of valuable insights and clarifications. The analysis of these also allows one to sensitise oneself to certain of the criticisms and limitations levelled at the neo-Weberian school of thought. Weber recognises a progression from various simple forms of authority, that are characteristic of primitive or rural societies, towards the rational bureaucratic authority characteristic of much of modern industrial society. In his analysis he identifies three ideal type models of authority, each representing a stage along this progressive continuum. The three models being:

- a) Charismatic Authority
- b) Traditional Authority
- c) Legal/Bureaucratic Authority

Each of these forms of authority possess their own means of legitimation and rationality.

The most fundamental form of authority, that based upon Charisma results in followers exhibiting a high level of personal devotion to their lord or leader. Normative patterns of order are derived from, and legitimated by, the extraordinary qualities ordained or revealed by that leader. (Weber (ref Weber M 1946 p 224) writes of the irrational nature of this authority ... "It is revolutionary in the sense of not being bound to the existing order : it is written - but I say unto you"...

Weber was sensitive to the rather unique qualities of the charismatic leader and accepted that in most instances their actions became routinised, with the resulting development of institutionalised procedures and ultimately bureaucratic structures. It is possible that here a reference was being made to the way in which christian sects developed their own organisational structures after the death of their own charismatic leader. As an ideal type, charismatic authority represents an extreme that is rarely, if ever approached in everyday life yet elements of it can often be readily identified. In the management of schools few head teachers or assistants would demonstrate 'pure' charismatic leadership yet it is clear that inspirational leadership does exist and depends to some extent on a belief in, or expectations of charisma. Etzioni (ref Etzioni A 1964) has extended this aspect of Weber's theory still further by developing the notion of ascribed charisma. Here a head teacher may assume the possession of some level of charisma as a result of his or her office of headteacher leadership. Another aspect of the way in which charisma can be used as a 'means' of legitimating authority is through the use of ritual. I will return to this aspect later in the case study section of the thesis when I discuss the use of this device in terms of strategy.

Weber's second ideal type of authority he terms Traditional, here authority rests not with an individual

but upon the belief in the sacredness of the social order. An example of such a system occurs in any society based upon some form of strong patriarchal order. Weber (ibid) makes the point that in such a system a leader would be in danger of losing his personal control if they were to violate the predominating traditions. Everyday routine becomes an invisible norm of conduct beyond the reality of rational arguments. Here domination relies on a piety for what actually, allegedly or presumably has always existed. The importance of these descriptions of societies based upon the authority of an individual's charisma, or the group's respect for tradition lies in the way in which various aspects of these ideal type models re-emerge as residual blocks in the analysis of more modern, complicated social organisations. Weber (ref ibid) defined these effectual and primitive modes of authority as irrational and deviant and asserted that modern bureaucratic social organisations contrasted with them because of its emphasis upon a rational structure. Weber's use of the notion of rationality is somewhat specialised for it involves taking various elements, not normally found in the word's general usage, and designating each one rational, irrespective of its relation to others. This makes it possible for him to stress the possibility (probability?) for conflict between the various elements. Within his concept of rationality two important forms emerge; purposeful



rationality (zweckrational) covering those acts where means are correctly chosen to obtain specific ends and values and rational action (wertrational) where action is in accord with a consensus value standard.

That modern society should be entirely dominated by rational actions Weber regarded as being highly improbable, writing ... "it would be very unusual to find concrete cases of action, especially of social action which were orientated only in one or another of these ways. Furthermore this classification of modes of orientation of action is in no sense meant to exhaust the possibilities of the field, but only to formulate in conceptually pure form certain sociologically important types, to which actual action is more or less closely approximated to, or in much more common cases which constitute the elements combined to make it up" (ref Weber M 1947 page 269).

That values and realities of older, pre-industrial (or using Durkheim's terminology) realities from worlds of organic relationships (ref Durkheim E translated 1947) is clearly demonstrated in terms of educational organisations. Here they serve both as a means of control and as manifestations supportive of claims of accountability. Schools, while to a greater, or lesser extent approximate models of a rational/bureaucratic organisation exhibit numerous examples of behaviour that can be explained in terms of charismatic or traditional authority. The ascribed charisma of the head teacher's office can be enlarged upon by the development of a style of management that is accepted as legitimate and is perceived as being dependent upon charisma. Tradition also has a part in the authority structures of schools. Despite their archaic origins house structures are still

preserved in many school institutions with their authority being reinforced by house Masters/Mistresses, captains, sports teams etc plus the paraphernalia associated with the various house rituals. In terms of the National Curriculum, classical studies, Latin and Greek still remain as relatively high status subjects, although no longer having a direct relevance to the needs or aspirations of the majority of pupils. Some may argue that the continued insistence upon Christian Religious knowledge being kept in the curriculum, especially in areas where it is a minority faith is a further example of traditional conservatism. It would however, be naive to claim this to be the only factor in maintaining a particular subject within the curriculum, for a wide range of other motives and interests also affect this area of debate.

I have indicated earlier that Weber's ideal type models are part of a much broader thesis concerned with the nature of value systems and forms of authority within the context of a changing world. The form of authority structure that is perceived as being most representative of the modern industrial society be termed Rational Bureaucratic (sometimes termed Legal Bureaucratic). Here obedience is not directed at an individual personality but is centred around the rules and structures of an impersonal organisation.

Weber (ref Weber M 1946 Ch 8) bases his analysis of this form of social organisation upon three key assumptions,

these being:

- 1) That the organisation should have established and recognised goals.
- 2) That the organisation should have a 'rational' structure - and as such would be impersonal, exhibit a high level of specialisation and be co-ordinated in its operations.
- 3) That there was only a simple bureaucratic type

These key assumptions manifest themselves through a number of operational means, as they form the basis of an understanding of this important conceptual model I examine each in turn.

#### Division of Labour

Regular activities are distributed amongst the work force, with many taking on the status of specific, official duties. In order that this can operate in an efficient manner specialists are employed therefore introducing a differentiation into the work force with technical competence as well as simple task divisions forming the basis of the structure. It is worth pointing out that within Weber's model there lies the general assumption that the division of labour contributes to the increase of both expertise and overall efficiency. There is also a tendency to assume that events are both predictable and occur in a uniform manner.

### Hierarchy of Authority

The bureaucratic organisation is structured in a hierarchical way with various groups being perceived as superior to others. Taken to its ultimate this becomes monocratic with a single figure having ultimate authority. Within the hierarchy all levels exist within their own right and have a part to play in the operation of the organisation. When problems arise clear channels of appeal exist that join the lower levels of the hierarchy to superior strata.

Again certain questionable assumptions lie behind this analysis. Firstly it suggests that positions of authority and the degrees of relevant expertise are synonymous. Secondly that a hierarchical authority structure increases the 'rationality' of decision making and thirdly that each individual within the system is 'rationally' directed towards the interests of the total organisation.

### Formal Systems of Rule and Regulation

The bureaucratic organisation is controlled by laws that both determine the structure of the various levels of the hierarchy but also co-ordinate the activities that occur within the levels. Indeed, a characteristic of the organisational system is that whenever feasible as many activities as possible are governed by systems of laws. From this come several advantages including a continuity of work, despite personnel changes, and a uniformity of working procedure.

### Impersonal Relations

In order that the organisation's rationality of purpose can be developed impersonal relationships are advocated. By emphasising the social distance between hierarchical levels authority structures are both confirmed and maintained. Laws that emphasise the impersonal aspects of the organisation encourage official behaviour at the expense of personal, the latter being classified as irrational and potentially against the goals and efficiency of the organisation.

### Employment Constituting a Career

Those who work in bureaucratic organisations do so as paid operatives. Positions are obtained and held not because of patronage or some traditional right but because of the needs of the organisation. Dismissal is possible only if official procedures are followed. Within the hierarchy there are clear cut patterns of promotion with seniority being obtained by objective criteria.

Although Weber did not set out to provide a concrete description of an actual bureaucracy and was not attempting to be prescriptive he is still open to certain criticisms.

For a clear understanding of any specific bureaucracy it is important to establish the realities of the social context. Weber's ideas, for the most part, relate to Prussia and a particular staff and line form of

approach, there being no indication as to whether the principles of this bureaucracy apply to all societies and settings. Similar questions arise about the nature of rationality and the 'suitability' and necessity of rules and forms.

In his analysis there is no clear reference as to the effects of informal structures and processes. Lane Corwin and Monahan (ref Lane Corwin and Monahan 1966, page 9) suggesting that he was not aware ... "of a number of socio-psychological factors within organisations which have contributed to the proliferation of indirect, or non-productive tasks"...

I have already in my examination of the main characteristics of the operation of bureaucracy highlighted certain implied assumptions - specialisation promoting expertise, authority and rules promoting co-ordination etc - that may be challenged. These, and other dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy have been 'overlooked' by Weber because of his emphasis on describing an ideal type model. This partial defence being advanced by Blau and Scott (ref Blau and Scott 1963

page 33) who make the point that, ... "Weber was well aware of such contradicting tendencies in the bureaucratic structure. But since he treats dysfunctions only incidentally, his discussion leaves the impression that administrative efficiency in bureaucracies is more stable and less problematical than it actually is"...

A further point of criticism notes his inconsistent use of types of authority, one based upon technical or competence or expertise the second upon power resulting from position. This inconsistency is well illustrated in the school with the possibility of conflict between

authority figures such as headteachers or deputies and specialists in partial disciplines.

These criticisms of the Weberian model can be summarised in the form of a number of key points, each one having a specific reference to the forms of organisational practice found in schools. Firstly, and perhaps fundamentally to any of the arguments, arise the question of rationality and the effectiveness and efficiency attached to the attainment of goals. The bureaucracy is perceived as being a pyramidal structure but this only serves as an 'official' conception, in reality the distribution of power within the organisation may be far more complex. When applied to schools various competing and overlapping power groups occur within the overall structure, the Headteacher and his assistant staff, the Chairman and Governing Body: the Chairman of the Local Education Authority and its members and officials all contributing to produce a much more complicated picture. In addition this 'rationality' is extended into the ways in which school staff promotions are organised. In terms of the ideal type model within every disagreement that occurs between superior and subordinate the superior is presumed to be capable of exerting a better judgement because of a higher level of experience and expertise. In schools headteachers and deputy headteachers are promoted from the classroom, a former expertise in History, Geography, Biology etc becoming largely irrelevant to the new role

as administrator. Likewise the individual teacher who has mastery over a class of eight year olds may not be able to apply the same management skills when working with an adult staff. Other factors emanating from this rationality of the organisation are those areas concerned with the Division of Labour. Weber was correct in perceiving that this had increased with the growth of modern industry but it is of equal importance to note how this fragmentation has occurred. In schools specialisation is not only based upon subject boundaries but spreads into areas of pastoral expertise, the administration of resources, assessment etc.

For most, if not all, of the items that Weber uses as characteristic of his ideal type there exists the opportunity to exploit them for individual ends and purposes. Even a strict adherence to the laws, rules and operational procedures can be perceived as dysfunctional when emphasis is placed upon the letter of the law rather than upon the 'spirit'.

Because of the nature of Weber's Ideal type analysis there exists the possibility of transposing this descriptive, theoretical model and using it in support of prescriptive functionalist consensus views of organisation or society. Here the characteristic of the organisation are similar to those of society but 'written small'. Going part way to this is Merton's description of a bureaucratic organisation (ref Merton R 1957) where he describes it as ..." a rationally



organised social structure involving clearly defined patterns of activity in which, ideally, every series of actions is functionally related to the purpose of the organisation"...

When using much of the theoretical writing concerning bureaucratic organisations it is important to see the potential dangers of adopting a functionalist perspective.

A final identifiable problem occurs when models of bureaucracy are applied to organisations where the tasks are diffuse and not clearly defined. Schools are typical of this, with no single set of goals being perceived as universally acceptable and no clear pattern of tasks being developed to achieve these illusionary ends.

Therefore to summarise this criticism of the Weberian ideal type model a number of points need to be made. Firstly that the concept of the rational/bureaucratic organisation that attempts to maximise efficiency in administration is inconsistent with the list of apriori characteristics that I have listed in my definition of the concept. I have followed Blau and Scott (ref Blau P and Scott W 1963) in arguing that rules, specialisation, hierarchy of authority etc do not always result in efficiency. That, in fact, rules need to be interpreted, that formal communications need to be supplemented by informal channels and that exchange relationships of an unofficial kind may well promote efficiency etc. At the

beginning of this section I indicated that the work of Weber was a valuable introduction to the related concepts of authority and accountability and I risk in this criticism giving the impression that his model is ill founded and of little value. This is not so, for to be fair to Weber at no point does he equate rationality with efficiency. He makes clear his awareness of the fact that formal rationality (ie that of procedure) does not necessarily guarantee substantive rationality (the efficient attainment of goals and values). regarding it as an inherent paradox where highly rational procedures frustrate the purposes and values that inspire them. Weber was, therefore, attempting to describe sufficient apriori conditions necessary for the attainment of any organisation goal. He was not prescribing but describing that form of administration that he considered as characteristic of the legal/rational form of authority. The value of this analysis to the understanding of the notion of accountability in school management comes not from an attempt to make a detailed match between the characteristics of the ideal type and any specific model of school organisation, or from an attempt to highlight the dysfunctions that can be identified and used to discredit the analytical model. Both the ideal type model and the criticism of it serve both to highlight important aspects of this form of organisation and to sensitise us to any prescriptive/functionalist form of analysis that may have arisen from it. By using Weber's

(ref ibid) three forms of authority in a pragmatic way it is possible to obtain a clearer understanding of schools as organisations, the theory being a useful interpretive tool.

It is clear that because of the use of devices such as hierarchial organisation of staff: the partial use of qualifications to obtain entry into the profession: children ordered on the basis of age, and/or academic achievement: the use of University Examination Boards for measuring academic success etc etc schools approximate the bureaucratic type. I have already made reference to the way in which aspects of more primitive forms of authority - such as charisma and tradition - still remain as residual elements in organisational structures. The pragmatic approach permits their inclusion in any examination of the aspects of accountability that arise from authority structures.

In my examination of the case study material in Chapter Four of this thesis, I will make a number of references to bureaucratic accountability and at all times I will be following this pragmatic approach to the interpretive models. In this way facets that may be interpreted by a 'pure' use of the type as irrational can be here seen as valuable and relevant. An example of this occurs with the ways in which bureaucratic structures can be used to provide strategies for coping with an individual's accountability. Illustrative of this is the way in which blame can be diffused and

deflected away from the individual towards the impersonal system. Waller (ref Waller W 1965) refers to the way in which psychological strain can be reduced by the use of 'deflection strategies'. In this context teachers may make the claim that examination syllabuses are inappropriate or that limitations in timetabling are the cause of their problems, here the claim has a potential legitimacy and its use can shift blame towards the formal bureaucratic structure and away from the individual.

Likewise membership of a school staff, or department gives to the individual teacher the opportunity of becoming an anonymous member of a group and thereby obtaining the benefits of the protection of the formal body. The practice of 'buck passing' (ref Merton R K 1957) where individuals pass responsibility, either downwards - blaming any failure on the inability of subordinates to cope with the task - or passing it 'upstairs' to a higher authority where, hopefully, the problem will be eventually lost. Such transfers of authority are readily achieved in organisations with bureaucratic characteristics.

In concluding this, the first section of my threefold typology of educational accountability a number of points emerge as being especially relevant to further items in the typology and to the later case study analysis. In many of the case study examples reference is made to the importance of hierarchial status, the

efficient operation of organisations and the rights of officials to control subordinates. These, and many other aspects have a clear connection with the theory of bureaucratic rationality and indeed, with those other theories that relate to the maintenance of the operational system. Likewise questions of responsibility and duty crop up both in terms of the individual's perception and with regard to formal definitions of task.

These areas of discussion illustrate the ways in which this, the first section of my typology, leads forward to the second section, where accountability based upon sound investment, the financial consideration of profit and loss, value for money etc are considered. There are also clear indications that areas from my third section, dealing with the various notions of professionalism, also have an important relevance. That these items overlap, often taking specific elements of case study material and re-interpreting it from a number of different standpoints is to be expected and is illustrative of the complex nature of the overall concept.

## II Sound Investment and Returns : Accountability based upon the financial considerations of profit, value and related contractual obligations

In this the second section of my threefold typology I consider those aspects of educational accountability that are associated with finance. Within this section

it is possible to identify three broad areas:

- a) The provision of a cheap service
- b) Various aspects concerning the notion of value for money
- c) Providing the 'paymaster' with a suitable return

Each of these very loose categories form the basis of a general discussion, that provides various insights, and which can be developed in the case study section of the thesis. In common usage aspects of this form of accountability are the most frequently encountered, its somewhat atheoretical approach being well suited to a crude representation of more obscure ideological or theoretical explanations. Within this section I attempt to both highlight the relevant arguments - showing where appropriate, their links with other forms of educational accountability - and to illustrate them with relevant historical and contemporary examples.

#### The Provision of a 'cheap' Education service

During the 19th century the growth of industry and trade led to a much greater demand for a workforce able to read, write and cope with simple arithmetic, however the cost of providing an education service to match this demand was considerable. Between 1833 and 1859 the cost of the Exchequer grants to schools had risen from £20,000 to £837,000 (ref Wardle D 1975, page 64) yet the effectiveness of this expenditure was open to question with in 1852 53% of pupils in inspected schools having been in attendance for less than one year and 73% for less than two years, these figures showing only a

marginal improvement some nine years later (ref Minutes of Committee of Privy Council 1852/3). That there should have been a call for Government action at all is of interest for at that period the doctrine of Laissez-faire was still publicly acceptable. The clue to this may well lie in the response, for it clearly indicates the way in which actions of this nature were regarded as 'adjustments' to the operational 'mechanism' rather than changes aimed at altering the overall structure of society. Resulting from the clear need for some improvement in the English Education system a Royal Commission was instigated in 1856, under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle. The Commission reported in 1862, its findings indicting that British Education was clearly lagging behind that found in several other economically important European countries but, that to impose a corrective system would be expensive. Due largely to the high cost of the Crimean War, and the deployment of troops in the Indian sub-continent as a result of the Mutiny, the Government was reluctant to engage in any large scale expenditure on education. Wardle (ibid page 66) notes how certain phrases echo the predominant ideology of their time and remarks how ... "in 1944 much was heard of 'equality' of opportunity; while in the 1860's it was a 'sound and cheap' elementary education"...

An attempt at solving the problem, while at the same time supporting a belief in Free Trade came with Robert

Lowe's 'Revised Code' of 1862. Here a basic grant was paid to the school, its amount being calculated by using a formula that linked pupils' attendance with success rates in annual examinations. In urging the House of Commons to accept the Bill, Lowe state that ..."I cannot promise the House that this system will be an economical one, and I cannot promise that it will be an efficient one, but I can promise that it shall be one or the other. If it is not cheap it will be efficient; if it is not efficient it will be cheap"... (ref Hansard 1862). These words have entered the folklore of teaching and have implications, both for teacher accountability as well as exemplifying the then emphasis on the provision of a cheap system of education.

A minor illustrative corroboration of the financial basis of the Payments by Results legacy is to be found on an example of a pupil's attendance reward medal issued by Shropshire County Education Committee during the latter part of the 19th century. The reverse has the usual inscription referring to the pupil's good conduct and excellent record of attendance, but the dates of the award run from April - March; a minor indication of the emphasis upon the financial rather than academic year.

The inclusion of this section, dealing with various aspects of 19th century Elementary Education illustrates the amount of state involvement in education and ensuring that the involvement that did take place was



cheap. In the present political and economic climate it is unlikely that overt references would be made to 'cheap' education, nevertheless the spirit of neo-liberalism is still alive and numerous modern exemplars suggest the popularity of these theories.

#### Value for Money

One of the most common ways in which this desire for a 'cheap' service manifests itself in through calls for a system that is accountable and that gives 'value for money'.

Atkin (ref Atkin J M 1979 page 12) makes the claim that just as English Payment by Results developed as a result of post Crimean War recession, so in the post Vietnam period ... "America invented the Accountability movement"... It would be injudicious to draw too many serious historical conclusions from the superficial similarity that exists here but, the point needs to be made. J F Kennedy appointed to the post of Secretary for Defence Robert MacNamara who House (ref House E C 1980 page 361) described as having ... "a passion for quantification, and a determination to apply so-called scientific techniques to the management of the greatly overblown defense budget"... With the advent of Lyndon

B Johnson's administration, these ideas were extended into the fields of social welfare and education. Johnson had chosen to make education a major item during his term as President, but the immense cost of the war had shaken the American economy and considerable expenditure cuts were made in the projected Social Welfare Programmes. From this numerous, 'accountability' schemes grew, such as Performance Contracting - Competency Based Teacher Accountability - Programme Education - Minimal Competency Testing - Zero Budgeting

- Cost Benefit Analysis - Management by Objectives -  
Education Vouchers and National Assessment.

From these, and many other varied schemes, a common theme emerges, the setting of minimum levels of competence and the achievement of these levels with the minimum of expenditure.

The provision of an 'efficient' and economic education service has also been one of the factors behind the 1987 Education Act. This has important implications for the organisation and management of schools. Since the ending of the 19th century Payment by Results systems individual schools have, for the most part, only been concerned with their own internal organisation, the administration of the curriculum and other associated matters. Under the new legislation financial control of the school has again become an important issue for headteachers and Governing bodies. Except for the major expenditure on capital projects the purchase of materials, repairs and salaries will, in the near future, become the direct responsibility of the headteacher and Governors. Schools will again have to 'balance' their own budgets. Just as with the Payment by Results scheme the grant, on this occasion paid by the L.E.A., will be calculated by means of a formula - the exact details of which are still unclear, but elements in the equation will include numbers of pupils, age range and 'special' factors. An added complication comes with the ending of 'zoning', parents now being

able to select schools of their choice. This is seen by the present Government as a working out of market forces, with choice determining which establishments will prosper and which will decline. It has been suggested, although details are still as yet unclear, that some form of performance indicators will be developed in order that unlike schools within an area can be compared by parents and other external bodies.

Two further changes in practice that are the result of recent legislation, are also relevant. Firstly, schools are now given the opportunity of "opting out" of the L.E.A. structure, although the details of this procedure, and the eventual outcomes are still vague, it is clear that the long and short term effects will dramatically alter existing management structures. Secondly, teacher appraisal is due to start in the summer of 1989. The School Teachers Pay and Conditions of Service document 1988 (quoted in the Secondary Heads Association guidance sheet issued September 1988)

claims that .."The professional duties of a headteacher shall include supervision and participation in any new arrangements within an agreed national framework for the appraisal of performances of teachers who teach in schools - participating in any arrangements within an agreed national framework for the appraisal of his (sic) performance as a headteacher"...

This appraisal has been defined by an ACAS agreement dated 1986 (quoted in the above sheet) as being "A continuous and systematic process intended to help individual teachers with their professional development

and career planning and to help and ensure that the in-service training and development of teachers matches the complementary needs of individual teachers and schools"...

These and other recent developments will, in terms of teacher accountability, have tremendous repercussions. Already schools are obliged to publish examination results and individual teachers are expressing concern when, for whatever reason, poor results may be seen as a reflection of their own performance. Because teachers pay forms the bulk of the school's expenditure fears are being voiced by those at the top of incremental scales or with senior posts for, in an environment where cost is a critical factor in judging the success of an organisation they may appear as expensive and unnecessary.

The question of value for money is highly subjective but it is clearly becoming a major factor in the day to day life of schools. The judge that determines what criteria should be used in determining value will, in many cases be the paymaster and it is to this role that I now turn.

#### Providing the Paymaster with a 'suitable' return

The third area, that I consider in this section dealing with the financial aspects of educational accountability, concerns the 'Paymaster', his returns and the associated contractual questions. This area is closely connected with the notion of 'value for money' and in some ways is only a re-statement of some of the same material. However an important and separate issue does emerge in that the identity of the 'Paymaster' is

not easily understood. The Government, the Local Education Authority, the school Governors, the Headteacher - as a representative of these groups and in his or her own right - and the Parents all are likely to demand a service that is commensurate with their expectations of what is appropriate. In terms of financial accountability all these bodies have a greater or lesser claim. The Government, however, adopts the position of ultimate Paymaster, in that through the taxation system it provides most of the funds for the nation's schools. Likewise through its Department of Education a groundwork of rules and regulations are established concerning teachers' pay, conduct and contractual duties. In order that these are observed, and that the system functions in a 'satisfactory' manner, Her Majesty's Inspectors act as both advisors and regulators at this National level.

However, within the country Local Education Authorities have considerable power, contracts can be modified to suit local conditions while the organisation of schools, staffing, provisions for special needs etc all fall under the influence of the L.E.A.'s. Local Inspectors and Advisors are employed to monitor schools within a specific authority and to advise both the schools and the administration staff who work along with the elected members of the Councils Education Committee. In the technical sense the Local Education Authorities are the employing bodies, teachers being held accountable to the

Chief Education Officer, this organisation linking in neatly with the model of a monocratic bureaucracy as described in an earlier section of this chapter.

Again the system is further devolved, in that individual schools are controlled by Boards of elected and co-opted Governors who, under the guidance of the Local Education Authority, are responsible for the appointment of teaching staff and the day to day operation of the school. Under present, and proposed, legislation (1988) the powers at the disposal of the Governing body is likely to increase dramatically. The financial and contractual implications of this already having been touched upon.

Already there are indications that suggest that Governors are involving themselves not only in the initial appointment of staff - a function that they have long held - but are attempting to monitor staff performance to a degree rarely encountered before (evidence of this having come from a number of unpublished Trade Union documents currently under review).

The Headteacher has always been in a difficult position insofar as he or she has been an agent representing the policies of the Local Authority; the views of the Governors and Parents; the collegiate views of the staff as well as any personal beliefs that they might ascribe to. Under the new legislation these problems have been compounded and although cynical, the view expressed by

one head that she was ... "now accountable to all and for all"... is not without some truth. In terms of this thesis, and in considering the case study examples, that all predate the current legislations, the headteacher's position is still very ambiguous; there being the possibility of a major contradiction between his/her role as a senior member of a teaching staff and as an authority figure representing the management.

In the past there were relatively few channels along which parents might make complaint, except when serious misconduct was suspected, only the articulate minority were able to make their objections known to Teachers, Heads and Deputies, Governors or Divisional Offices of the L.E.A. However, under the legislation brought about by the 1988 Act parents have been given extra powers that have an important effect on the question 'of to whom is a teacher accountable'. Parents are now to have a more influential position on school Governing bodies and must be informed about any changes that might take place in the organisation of the school. In addition many of the rules concerned with prescribing catchment areas have been removed and this coupled with the 'publishing' of National Curriculum Test Scores,, examine results will clearly result in parents selecting schools that they perceive as offering a good 'service'.

## Conclusions

These, and other varied factors, are all capable of having some bearing upon the notion of educational accountability. It is clear that what appears at first to be a straightforward form of accountability, based upon the expected returns in response to a financial outlay - ie teaching in return for wages - is a far more complicated issue. At the ideological and political level the need for, and maintenance of, the service is a major part of the debate, while at the level of the school a wide range of interest groups each hold their own views of what the service should provide and who is accountable for its operation. In this 'workshop' the initial investment, the commercial process and the final product are all problematic.

I have specifically chosen this analogy for it is clear that in this form of accountability the educational process, the practice of teaching and the pupils, are often referred to in commercial terms with various notions from this area being used when calls for and to accountability are made.

At the beginning of this section I referred to the provision of a cheap education service and located this aim in certain of the ideological/theoretical areas examined in the first item in my typology. In concluding this section I adopt an opposite plan and extend this examination of the financial forms of



accountability into the third item in my typology - The various notions of professionalism. This linking of the three sections highlights the way in which each contains elements of the other and how in practice they are difficult to divide. Many of the concepts involved in an understanding of contractual duty go beyond the limits of simple financial obligation but the continuum that extends towards some form of moral/ethical duty is not divided off into clearly marked stages. The move from one extreme to another is characterised by tendencies and nuances of meaning that are best approached through the various notions dealt with in the next item in my typology.

### III Accountability based upon the various notions of Professionalism

This the third, and final item in my typology is in some ways the most complicated for professionalism, like accountability, is a many faceted concept that can be used in a wide variety of different ways. To some extent much of what is contained under the general heading of professionalism is a re-statement of that which has already been dealt with in types one and two. I have already briefly alluded to this and will continue, when appropriate, to reinforce those links that connect the various items in my typology. As indicated, the various uses to which the term accountability may be put are both confused and confusing. I attempt therefore, to examine some of the

major theoretical explanations that are available highlighting the main points and offering some form of limited criticism. In addition I refer to some of the popular usages to which the term professionalism is applied and seek to place these definitions within a broader theoretical context. This latter section provides a general introduction to my later case study analysis.

### Theories of Professionalism - An Introduction

Along with the growth of the industrial society and the resultant decline in charismatic and traditional modes of authority, in favour of a rational bureaucratic system, there has been a major increase in the growth of the professions. This has occurred, both in terms of an increased membership of many of the existing professions and also in the number of new groups that have arisen and claim professional status. This explosion has not resulted in the flood of theoretical and analytical literature that might have been expected. Johnson (ref Johnson T J 1972 page 9) claims that sociologists have tended to ... "retreat in the face of these larger questions, digging in behind the defence of more current analysis of a micro-sociological or social - psychological kind"...

Despite, however, the apparent lack of macro level criticism two important concepts arise that provide a useful starting point for an analysis of the professional debate; these being

- a) whether or not the professions are a unique development of the division of labour in society
- b) whether professions perform a special, political or economic role within the industrial society

The first point, considering the relationship of professionalism to the division of labour was briefly taken up by Marx (ref Marx K trans. 1969) who considered that the existence of the professions was somewhat problematic in that they raised important issues in the analysis of social differentiation and class structure. As I have indicated in the brief section on the effects of de-professionalisation included in item one of my typology, this question - as far as teachers are concerned - may well be beginning to disappear however, this in itself may well be only another facet of the way in which the term professionalism is defined and used and therefore somewhat outside the scope of this thesis. Johnson (ref Johnson T J 1972) makes the important point, throughout most of his analysis, that the attempt to examine professionalism in the context of social differentiation has largely been abandoned and that is has been replaced by a somewhat fruitless search for characteristic traits that can be used to identify and isolate professional innovations.

This form of analysis has attempted to create some form of reference list of traits that together could encompass the nature of professional occupations. These

have tended to range from the extremely simplistic, through those that are of little value as they are occupationally specific, to confused generalities. At the simplistic level the fact that professionals are paid for their services is recognised (a factor that must apply to almost all occupational groups) while at the slightly more advanced level workers having control of entry into an occupational group is cited as being of significance. This latter point, while an important indicator of the probable nature of an occupation is in no way to be considered as restricted to the professions, for it is associated with many of the traditional craft skills. At a more diffuse level, reference is often made to a 'professional calling' but this use of terminology is difficult to separate from the rhetoric of e.g. the medical profession. Its weakness as a diagnostic trait being seen when applied to various occupations - doctors 'claim' this and are termed professional while nurses who also make the claim are designated semi-professional (ref Etzioni A 1969). In contrast architects who are also considered professional do not claim any special calling and therefore fall somewhat outside its terms of reference.

The second point, concerning whether or not the professions perform some specific political or economic role within the industrial society, Johnson (ibid) also considers to have been neglected. Here he argues that much of the discussion concerning the 'problems' faced

by professionals working within bureaucratic organisations are derivative of this issue and fails to address itself to the essential points but, rather tackle fragments of the key issues (ref Johnson T J 1972 page 11). Despite the criticism levelled at much of the functionalist writing concerning this aspect of professionalism I include a brief examination of the main areas of debate, for in terms of teacher accountability various aspects of these arguments are used as means for justifying, explaining and legitimising actions.

#### Professionals with a Bureaucratic Organisation

Of interest is the work of Corwin (ref Corwin R G 1965) who examined the question of professionals within bureaucracies as part of his more general analysis of the classic Hobbsian problem of how society can function in a state of 'all against all' (ref Hobbes T 1656) and how the individual exists in the face of the organisation. Corwin (ibid) suggests that the main problem lies in bringing together unlike quantities within the same equation. Thus when attempting to explain an organisational problem in terms of the individuals the discussion must inevitably be based upon speculation. This intrinsic problem he considered to be a residual factor in all organisational theory. In respect of this he attempted to examine the various issues from the dual standpoints of the employee and the professional. As a means to examining the inherent problems, that he

perceived as relevant, Corwin separates out three specific areas: standardisation, specialisation and involvement.

In terms of the first of these the employee in a bureaucratic organisation is seen as regarding the day to day problems of work as both predictable and uniform. By following the procedures laid down and established by the organisation these problems can be handled, documented and rewarded. In contrast to this the ideal type professional follows not one set of established rules but several, seeing the solution to the problem in terms of alternatives, the procedures being a matter of interpretation and possible negotiation. Here he places great emphasis on changes in procedure resulting from research and development work. At all times clients are regarded as unique and capable of benefiting from this research, their treatments being specially tailored to their particular needs. The words chosen here are deliberate for not only do they stress the 'narrow' ideal-type models but they also show the tendency towards a medical rhetoric that can be used when wishing to establish an 'aura' of professionalism.

In the second organisational characteristic, as identified by Corwin, the concern is with specialisation and its use as a basis for the division of labour. When applying this concept to the employee much emphasis is placed upon the effectiveness of techniques and the skills necessary in order to carry out the job. These

techniques and skills are seen as the result of extensive training and practice, often in the place of work and are gained through observing the work of already skilled operators. Hence the high levels of technical skill and expertise outweigh any emphasis that might be placed upon client relationships. Again words are chosen carefully in order that the mechanical aspects of the craft skills can be emphasised as exemplars of the ideal type.

In contrast the 'type' professional places the client above the technical aspects of the work, thus the doctor may be pictured as being concerned with restoring the patients' health and the teacher with the education of his or her pupils, this being in contrast with the mechanic who is associated with the machine rather than the customer. These, being ideal type models, are illustrative of trends or perceived tendencies but it is important to recognise that there are many examples that give contradictory evidence; with the surgeon taking a detached view of the patient in his/her involvement with medical techniques or the mechanic who while able and skilled with the machinery is also an expert at dealing with clients. Corwin (ibid) claims that these ideal types are influenced by the respective methods of training. The employee gaining experience through 'shop floor' knowhow, while the professional gains a monopoly of specialist knowledge away from the work place by research and investigation. These assumptions are again

somewhat weak in that much professional knowledge comes through 'shop floor experience' - school practice for teachers, ward work for student doctors while many engineers and technicians undergo extensive college based training that may well contain elements of highly sophisticated research.

The third factor in this analysis is loyalty and involvement. Here Corwin (ibid) makes the distinction between the loyalty that an ordinary employee may have for his employer, or those above him in an organisation with a bureaucratic hierarchy, and the professional whose loyalty is founded on the traditions expressed by the professional organisation and its ethos. Here he attempts to compare the bureaucratic organisation with its external, imposed structure of rules and that of the profession with its internal, operational structure. There is some evidence to suggest that here he is attempting to compare like with like, both organisational structures having similar characteristics and in highlighting different emphasis in the two models he is ignoring important similarities.

Corwin's models are severely flawed in that not only do they represent ideal type models but they re-create mythical characters that are products of the rhetoric of their own 'professionalism' for Corwin is engaged in restating the professional's own claims of unique status.



Despite these important criticisms the analysis is of some value for this thesis in that it provides, in ideal type form, models that coincide with claimed characteristics of professionalism. In the case study section I make a number of references to these claims of professionalism, attempting to illustrate the ways in which they are used as a means of explaining, justifying and legitimating actions.

#### An Extension of the Functionalist Debate

Within the context of the Weberian scenario of a move from a traditional rural, to a bureaucratic industrial economy two contrasting views of the profession are developed. From one perspective they appear as solid, stable, conservative forms that protect both the state and the individual from the potential excesses of either the ideologies of laissez-faire, or of state collectivism. In contrast, the other perspective sees them as monopolies devoted to the maintenance and furtherance of their own ends and a stumbling block to general social advancement.

The first of these views was supported by Emile Durkheim who considered the function of the professions to be the guardians and protector of the moral order. In arguing this case he described how the professions ... "should become so many moral milieux whose function was to bring order to a confused society"... (ref Durkheim E 1957 page 29). Other writers continued and developed this theme Tawney (ref Tawney R H 1921) maintaining that

professionals functioned as forces dedicated to preventing self interest and individualism dominating society. In his description Durkheim (ibid) places professional ethics and his 'new moral' order side by side, a point that has led others into stressing the claim that professional are concerned with altruistic principals, their occupations being 'dedicated' to the service of others. These functional interpretations of the professional's role were amplified by Parsons (ref Talcot Parsons 1954) who noted that ... "while business and the professions shared much in common, within industrial society the professions were still to be distinguished by their collective orientation rather than self orientation"...

One of the most important works concerning the nature of professional occupation and coming from the structural functionalist school of sociological was that by Carr-Saunders and Wilson (ref Carr-Saunders A M and Wilson P A 1933). Like many of their predecessors they considered that the key factors in determining the importance of professional work was its inherent conservatism and stability. Because of these characteristics they were able to ... "inherit, preserve and pass on a tradition ... they engendered modes of life, habits of thought and standards of judgement which rendered them centres of resistance to the crude forces which threatened steady and peaceful evolution... The family, the church and the universities, certain

associations of intellectuals and above all the professions, stand like rocks against which the waves raised by these forces bear in vain"... (ref Carr-Saunders A M and Wilson P A 1933 page 497).

For Carr-Saunders and Wilson the greatest threat to the survival of the professionals as an independent and authoritative force were the bureaucratic organisations. Fundamental to these authors was the belief that professionalism and bureaucracy were incompatible and that there could be no harmonious co-existence. Again the emphasis of their arguments is based upon the professionals' own claims of uniqueness, altruism etc and does not question the model in any deeply analytical way.

In opposition, to this view that seeks to represent professionalism as a positive force supportive of society's steady advance, are those who consider them to be harmful monopolies, devoted to self interest and a stumbling block to social advancement.

Many of the writers who have raised these criticisms come from the field of economics, a typical example being Kuznets and Friedman (red Kuznets S and Friedman M 1945). Still firmly established in the functionalist school their criticism is not of the system but of the way in which professional groups prevent society developing - in the terms of their functionalist school of thought they represented as dysfunctional elements within the mechanism. From this perspective the claim

that bureaucracies and professions are in conflict is dismissed as misleading and a diversion; for it is recognised that the professional organisations are themselves bureaucratic and that the effective nature of this structure helps to maintain and support the strength of the monopolies.

Johnson (ref Johnson T J 1972 page 15) claims that Weber did not differentiate, to any marked degree, between professionalisation and bureaucratisation and

..."specifically linked the process of bureaucratisation with the development of specialised professional educations, seeing both processes as a rationalisation of Western Civilisation"... In support of the belief

that bureaucratic management and professionalism were becoming increasingly linked he quotes Wright Mills (ref Wright - Mills C 1956 page 112) who writes ..."most professionals are now salaried employees; much professional work has become divided and standardised and fitted into new hierarchical organisations of educated skill and service, intensive narrow specialisation has replaced self cultivation and wide knowledge; assistants and sub-professionals perform routine, although often intricate tasks, while successful professional men become more and more managerial types"...

These, and other arguments relating to the definition of professionalism and its location within wider models of society orbit around the general structural functionalist debate becoming increasingly sterile and adding little to our understanding. Their inclusion here has already been justified in that they highlight various theoretical aspects that can be utilised in the explanation micro level activities. I also argue that because they have become part of the folklore of professionalism they are, therefore, available for non

specialist use as means of explaining, justifying and legitimating when individuals are called to account for action. However, in terms of a general theory to illustrate more fully the nature of the professions an alternative form of explanation is required.

#### Professionalism - A conflict perspective

A more fruitful sociological approach to professionalism abandons all attempts at finding traits or characteristics and uses the concept as a means of developing the idea of institutional control. For this to be an effective power base there is a need for some means by which the occupation of teaching can be demonstrated to be a profession. Various factors assist in this, the most important of which is the claim itself; because most teachers believe themselves to be members of a profession, so the group's claim gains creditability. This belief is also generally accepted by those who come in contact with the group, insofar as the parameters of general discussion and debate are concerned, if not when specific details are considered. With these conditions as part of the accepted background to the occupation, the formal meetings take place between representatives of the teachers and the paid officials of the Local Education Authority and the elected County Councillors by way of Teachers Consultative Committees etc. have a confirming function. In a similar way teachers have elected members on school Governing Bodies. Thus by claiming rights, such as

those connected with entry into the profession, the standardisation of working practices, codes of conduct etc the group has been able to obtain and enlarge upon its own status and power base. The language of professional autonomy has helped with this in that it is part of the legitimating process and can be used both to strengthen and enlarge group powers. Examples of this can be seen at the National level where Professional Associations produce large amounts of literature that is well beyond the scope of the traditional unions' pay and conditions agenda. It deals with broader educational issues both at a practical, and to some degree an academic level. Comments made to the Press and through Television and Radio expand this strategy, the result being an additional confirmation of the group's claimed professionalism.

This more open analysis, of the nature of professional groups, is free from many of the specific occupational characteristics that dogged more traditional approaches. The key element is power, professionalism being one, very successful, means of mobilising these resources in order to influence and effect events.

I have in this section attempted to outline some of the most important theoretical concepts that are applied to the study of professionalism. For much of this section I have concentrated upon the structural functionalist analysis, addressing such questions as the definition of professionalism through trait characteristics, the

dichotomy that is perceived to exist between professional work and bureaucratic organisations. In addition I have focused upon two contrasting views; one placing the professional at the forefront of the battle against bureaucratic domination and the other representing the professions as a narrow, monopolistic means to self interest. In contrast to these functional studies I offer an alternative, more contemporary, conflict analysis that sees professionalism as a means to power mobilisation. Each of these respective forms are illustrative of the wider range of notions and concepts that fall under the general title of professionalism. For this thesis all are relevant in that they provide explanations, however tentative or restricted in their application, for the events and actions that are claimed to be the results of professionalism.

Teachers, because of their training and to some extent because of the pressures that develop from within and without their occupational group develop some level of corporate professionalism. This is not to suggest that teachers are in any way a homogeneous group, clearly any claimed professional unity amongst University lecturers or Senior Staff within Public Schools, will be different from that of part time supply teachers working in inner city Primary Schools. This is not a criticism of the commitment or academic qualifications of either group but, rather a statement confirming their different

perceptions of role, working practices etc. Despite their differences their claims of and for professionalism are the 'building blocks' that define the professional power base.

### Conclusions

Within this chapter I have considered a number of somewhat disparate theories some of which may appear as dated while others remain as fundamental keystones to an understanding of current sociological thought. As theories their main value lies in their use as a means of explaining and clarifying phenomena and, as such, they function at an academic level where they are available for careful analysis and vigorous testing. They do, however, operate at a less precise level with some entering into the general folklore and language of the group. This is especially true of those theories that explain the social actions, and for those professional groups whose members, at least at one stage in their careers, are receptive to some formal academic training. From this base, theory can become distorted and form part of the rhetoric of the occupational group with concepts such as professionalism or accountability becoming a means of explaining, justifying or legitimating actions. In my next chapter I move away from the macro level of analysis and concentrate upon the micro level, dealing with interactions that constitute the detail of events and actions. Within the strategic, micro-political 'atmosphere' of this area of



study the ideologies and doctrines that the theories have sought to explain, still continue to operate both as a basis for action, and as a means of retrospective explanation. Here, however the emphasis is upon the more detailed operational aspects of the various occurrences.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### Some aspects of the Micro Level analysis of Headteacher Management

As I have already indicated in the conclusion of Chapter Two I now intend to examine certain of the micro level aspects of management, making special reference to the ways in which Head Teachers operate as managerial leaders within schools.

The material contained within this section cannot be seen as totally separate from that contained in Chapter Two, for it is intimately related to it. For the purposes of this analysis the two chapters can be seen as concerning themselves with 'different sides of the same coin.' In the former the emphasis is with ideas, and the theories that seek to explain them, while in this Chapter I deal with operational methods and techniques; however, to treat them as isolated entities is to be over simplistic. The ideas that form the basis for theory cannot be seen in isolation and out of context for they are themselves developed and re-constituted by the operational methods. This relationship is reciprocal for the operational methods are also based upon, and subsequently modified by, the ideas and theories. In this way the two areas are, in practice, inseparably bound together.

By definition much of the case study material, that I examine later in the thesis, is concerned with the details of operational activity. The models and

explanations provided in this section help to locate this case study data within the theoretical context. To assist with this I concentrate upon three broad areas:

- a) Various forms of Managerial style
- b) The uses of strategy
- c) The notion of micro-politics

Each of these areas providing material that can be used in later analysis.

#### The Head Teacher as Leader

Before examining these various aspects I feel that it is worthwhile looking more deeply at the position of the headteacher as leader, for there are a number of contrasting views. This is in no way surprising for the occupation of headteacher is far from being homogeneous. Schools differ in size, forms of administration etc. While geographical differences and traditions bring their own added dimensions. Therefore almost all statements made, concerning the nature of the head teacher's role need to be taken as generalities. A mistaken belief, held by a number of commentators is that the headteacher is an all powerful leader, within the school, this point being expressed by King (ref King R 1968 page 423( who maintained ..."that the headteacher was to a large extent, responsible for devising and maintaining his school as a formal organisation and so in a most revealing way, his school becomes the expression of his authority."... This view of the head as an all powerful leader is also perpetuated in much folklore and popular belief. However, the idea does not go unchallenged. Burgess (ref Burgess R G 1984 page

219) claims that the ... "evidence that has been assembled suggest that Head Teachers do not have 'freedom to do what they bloody well like' but have to operate within constraints that are established by the L.E.A.s"...

While accepting this latter claim I suggest that it should go much further and include not only the constraints imposed from exterior agencies, but should include restrictions created by internal politics. Ball (ref Ball S J 1987 page 83) sees the problem as being at least two sides ... "On the one hand the head will be faced with the problems of maintaining control both in an organisational sense, ensuring continuance and survival and in the educational sense, through the making and implementation of policy"...

Using the terminology developed by Halpin (ref Halpin A W 1957) the head must attend to I T & C (Initiating, Task and Consideration)

### Styles of Management

One of the traditional ways in which theorists attempt to interpret how this management problem is tackled is via a study of head teacher management styles. Ball (ibid) page 83) defines style as ... "In abstract terms in the school context, leadership styles are both an act of domination (the exercise of ultimate responsibility) and an expression of integration (the focus of identity and common purpose within the institution). A style is a form of social accomplishment, a particular way of realising and enacting the authority of leadership. It is essentially an individual accomplishment but at the same time it is essentially a form of joint action"...

Style however, cannot be restricted to the actions of a single individual, the performance needs to have an audience that is both receptive to the messages being

transmitted and willing to offer the support necessary for the maintenance of the performance. Thus, in crude terms, a head teacher cannot select from a bank of stylistic props and scripts a particular item that will have guaranteed results, the process being a far more complicated interaction. An alignment must occur between the leader and the led, with the opportunities for constant compromise, mutual adjustment and negotiation being readily available. Style is an active dynamic process which goes part way to establishing the head teacher's power base; by using various devices he or she is able to control the performance within carefully limited parameters.

Given that the notion of style is only a means to understanding a particular form of social action, its importance can be questioned but I have chosen, here, to follow the traditional management perspective and include a summary of the established stylistic models. I justify their inclusion on three counts, firstly that they represent the fruits of considerable research and, by providing ideal types, they help to conceptualise more detailed accounts of complicated individual performances. Secondly they exist in the folklore of teachers and are used as such in rationalising the justifying events. Thirdly they very loosely correlate with my analysis of the nature of authority and accountability.

A useful analysis, using the traditional typology of

styles is used by Ball (ref Ball S J 1987 ibid) who follows the more or less conventional pattern by identifying three main managerial styles, these being interpersonal managerial and political, the latter being subdivided into the adversarial and authoritarian modes.

#### Interpersonal Style

Within the confines of this stylistic approach the head teacher performs a very mobile and visual role. Emphasis is on face to face contact and negotiation, while decisions are based upon discussion and compromise. In achieving this, individual staff members are encouraged to act in an 'independent professional' way and are expected, when called upon, to provide their specialist skills and knowledge. The informality of the process encourages casual meetings and discussions rather than formal minuted debates, the prepared statements and the controlled agendas of the traditional staff meeting. The relationships between head and staff, when successfully cultivated, approaches the consensus of feudalism, whereby, through the granting of bonds the staff are bound by a sense of duty and loyalty to their leader.

While the organisational emphasis is on consideration the operation of the style ensures the functioning of the task aspect of the head's role. For the interpersonal style to succeed the head requires the facility to appear affable and accessible to all the disparate groups that make up the staff. In order to underpin this style, the head needs to cultivate a

reputation for charismatic leadership. This form of authority depending upon a sustained effective performance. Weber comments that ... " The legitimacy of charismatic rule thus rests upon the belief in magical powers, revelation and hero worship. The source of these beliefs is the proving of the charismatic quality through miracles, through victories and other successes, that is through the welfare of the governed"... (ref Weber M 1946 page 29).

The problem for this form of authority is that in order for it to work the miracles and the success must continue to flow, as any failure in this respect will result in a dangerous instability. Away from the limitations of the ideal type model there is usually a move away from pure charismatic authority towards one based upon loyalty to the office - rather than the office holder, this along with other forms of traditional authority reducing the need for an 'everflowing stream' of miracles.

#### Managerial Style

The second stylistic type is generally termed managerial and has come into schools from industry and commerce. Within this style the managerial head is the chief executive of the school who is reinforced with a formal, hierarchial team of deputies, senior teachers etc. Following the Weberian model of bureaucratic authority each of these subordinate roles have detailed job specifications and spheres of official influence.

Outside the confines of the ideal type this form of school management is seen to be 'public' only insofar as the individuals involved are holders of specific and documented jobs.

Staff meetings are minuted, committees convened and reported to, etc thus allowing 'information to flow'. The educational aspects of the school are also seen to be defined by specific aims and objectives, with performances being recorded and evaluated by prescribed methods. It is easy for the post of manager to be perceived as being impersonal and separate from the individual personality of the role occupant. Weber, when considering bureaucracy (of which management is a particular type) noted that while bureaucracy was associated with democracy the relationship between the two is not unambiguous. "...one has to remember that bureaucracy as such is a precise instrument which can put itself at the disposal of quite a varied partly political as well as partly economic, or any other sort of interests in domination. Therefore the measure of parallelism with democraticisation must not be exaggerated, however typical it may be"... (Weber M 1946 p 231). Weber's point is important, because it shows how bureaucracy itself is a form of domination. The individual head may be seen as having a range of personal characteristics but the management system imposes its own strict rationales. When faced with the problem of organisational management it concentrates



upon aspects of task, these being achieved through 'rational' procedures. In this context the head is seen to operate from a closed office, and is approached by appointment and through other 'proper' channels. This has been termed styled distance and can itself be developed into an important strategy. The ideology of bureaucratic style reinforces the concept of consensus and team, with teachers working together as part of a common cause. Ball describes this as ... "not a set of practices among the members but a principle to be managed"... (Ball S J 1987 page 101). Weber asserts (Weber M 1946 p 223) that ... "bureaucratic administration always tends to be an administration of 'secret seniors': insofar as it can, it hides its knowledge and action from criticism"...

When the head becomes accepted as an executive rather than a fellow teacher a state exists where responsibility to the organisation has become separate from the people who construct it and the school becomes a reified dehumanised concept.

### Political Style

The third, identifiable type is described as political, in one sense the word is inappropriate in that all styles of management are intrinsically involved in the political process of controlling the organisation, however, in the case of this form of management the political nature predominates and clearly identifies it. (Ball S J 1987) makes an important point by dividing this style into two contrasting forms. Firstly that of the adversarial style where the political nature is

generally accepted and developed as a battlefield technique; and secondly the authoritarian style where the political process is publicly denied but practices via covert actions. Adversarial style is characterised by the use of talk, words replacing physical strength and arms as an arsenal while the public debate becoming the arena for combat. It is at this level that confrontation takes place. Competing ideologies are ranged against one another and the political techniques used to obtain mastery of the discussion are recognised as tactical political skills. For those who are able and willing to accept this adversarial role there are considerable advantages for many potential 'enemies' are unwilling, or indeed unable, to compete with the competent exponents of this style. Political action, however, requires considerable expenditure of time and energy if it is to be mastered, and the outcome can be uncertain. The unofficial debate brings with it danger, it places the head at risk because of the inherent uncertainty of the outcome. Despite this their office gives them a number of strategic advantages, especially the ability to set the scene, control to some extent the agenda, and limit the degree to which negotiations can develop. Ball (ibid) reports of a head teacher talking about 'my room', 'my territory' etc, in this context it is not surprising that assistant staff refer to the feelings of inevitability that arise out of staffroom 'debates'.

Within such a context arguments have a strongly personal element, this contrasting strongly with the previously considered bureaucratic style, the polite formality of the committees having no place in this overtly political style. Within the school such debates, because of their personal nature, result in arguments that often have long term effects, individuals and groups being polarised into factions. Hall P M 1972 p 51 writes

..."On one hand politics constitutes the transformation of physical confrontation into verbal ones, and on the other, the resolution or accommodation of their confrontation involves the use of political rhetoric in the use of public discussion to persuade. We must therefore be interested in understanding the process of political talk in determining how the audience is activated (or perhaps deactivated or deflected). The maintenance and activation of power comes from being able to convince others of the correctness of your position ... alternatives are literally 'talked down'..."...

Allied to, but also contrasting with the adversarial style is that of the authoritarian. Here no credence is given to negotiation and debate, management is through direction. Opportunities for confrontation or verbal discussion are limited, with instructions and directions coming in the form of prepared statements. The battlegrounds of the adversarial style are abandoned as too risky for security. When confrontation cannot be avoided it is disabled or simply ignored, in this style alternative views are seen as deviant and in order to maintain the single perspective Machiavellian strategies are employed - talk stifled, meetings cancelled and agendas managed.

Similarities are to be found between this ideal type

head teacher and Weber's patriarchal leader (ref Weber M 1946) whose authority is based upon a system of invisible norms that are considered to be sacred. In this style of leadership there is little separation between the formal - institutional role and the personal. When anger or pleasure are displayed they manifest themselves, as strategies - as a means of frustrating or placating staff 'problems'. Central to the authoritarian style is a conservative attitude, the support of established policies, procedures and institutions. This developing most clearly where a school has a long and stable tradition.

Change can be induced from the staff side by the use of carefully prepared strategies while instructions from the head teacher take the form of authoritarian edicts that result in changes being imposed upon a potentially reluctant staff.

A strategy well suited to such a regime is the careful recruitment of selected and compliant staff, with whenever possible internal appointments being used to limit the risk of bringing in trouble and dissension from outside. Later in this brief analysis of the interactionist approach to management I will develop the concept of micro-politics and it will become evident that to the machiavellian, authoritarian head teacher the skilful use of these is essential.

Two main aspects of this mode of analysis are important to this thesis. Firstly the various forms of style, as

described, are ideal types and as such only exist in generalised groups of perceptions and characteristics that together form a model image, rather than any detailed representations of a specific individual. These generalised images can become part of the common culture of those concerned with their original theoretical purpose being overtaken by a more general 'folk' usage. In this way the ideal type models become absorbed into the realities of those concerned. Examples of this are provided by the way teachers refer to styles of management when attempting to explain various actions. Here the use of various terms is often highly subjective and informal and does not necessarily reflect either the commonly held interpretation of an individual's style or indeed the stylistic image that the individual attempts to present.

Actions may be attributed as being the characteristic results of an authoritarian style, or bureaucratic approach while a 'leader' may attribute the outcome of his/her actions to personal charisma or the status of the office.

Therefore, in interpreting actions references to style is unlikely to provide the simplistic solution that their type image present.

Another factor that makes this form of analysis useful comes from the way that the typology of styles has a loose inter-relationship with Weber's study of authority, has certain useful insights can be drawn and

used in future analysis. Charismatic authority and style depend upon a direct relationship between the leader and those who follow, with accountability being couched in terms of personal loyalty; in contrast the Bureaucratic Managerial modes of authority and leadership style rely upon formal organisations with accountability being built into the structure. Political style is ultimately a mixture of all the forms, with accountability being seen as the outcome of pragmatic bargaining and dealing - those who 'win' the debates, obtaining the rights to demand that the 'losers' be held to account.

I have used style as a means of representing a perceived form of organisational control, it does not however, assist in an analysis of the individual elements that make up specific actions. To assist with this I turn to the notion of strategy.

#### The uses of Strategy

A working definition sees strategy as an attempt to control or modify another person's or persons' pattern of behaviour. This simple definition can, however, be much elaborated upon. A great deal of the general literature on management theory and techniques restricts the scope of strategy to simple 'games moves' directed at one party or another. In operating these commonplace techniques the initiator sets off a stream of counter strategies, the outcome being a restructuring of existing interactions. Although often extremely subtle these games moves do not exhaust the possible importance

of strategic response. I draw, here, a parallel with Lukes neo-marxist view of power (ref Lukes S 1974).

Here Lukes attempts to isolate three progressively complicated stages along a continuum extending from expressed, observable, overt methods to ideological control over subjective and real interests. In the following diagram I adapt Lukes' model of power as a basis for a three dimensional view of strategy.

#### One dimensional view of strategy (Level One)

- Focus on :
- a) Behaviour - Games moves
  - b) Effectiveness of strategy seen in terms of biological or mechanical process
  - c) Even when subtly applied strategies are overt - observable.

#### Two dimensional view of strategy (Level Two)

- Focus on :
- a) Control of the Agenda (at a simple level)
  - b) Creation and/or control over overt and covert conflicts
  - c) Setting the stage - arena etc.

#### Three dimensional view of strategy (Level Three)

- Focus on :
- a) Ideological control
  - b) The power to prevent 'issues becoming issues and thus becoming a sophisticated control of the agenda
  - c) Symbolic power

Much of the literature of management and organisational theory restricts itself to a one dimensional view and, at this more simple level, strategies operate as modus operandi concerned with the conscious attempts of those seeking to find the solution to specific problems. A

good example of this dimension is found in the writing of Katz and Kahn, (ref Katz D and Kahn R L 1966 and 1964). These authors emphasise the need for 'alleviating' problems through the conscious manipulation of persons and events. A key factor for them is the importance of consensus and, the need for common goals or in the words of Handy (ref Handy C B 1976 page 235) ... "to turn conflict into fruitful competition or purposeful argument and, if this is not possible to control conflict"... A rather less naive structural view, but essentially at level one is offered by Silverman (1970 page 76) where he adopts a Goffmanian style and writes ... "the attachment or involvement of an actor indicates the nature of his perception and expectations of the predominant set of social expectations with an organisation. When this subjective definition of the situation is expressed in actions, one may speak of tactics and strategy"... Here Silverman recognises both the 'games' theory of strategy as well as the ritualistic re-use of old strategies in a way that approaches unconscious action. He continues by alluding to the work of Simon (1959) ... "There rationality is bounded by their incomplete knowledge of the resources and disposition of the other actors and a tendency in many cultures to settle for an alternative that is good enough but not necessarily the best i.e. in Simons terms 'man satisfies not maximises'"...

It would seem probable that many short term strategic actions come from level one, though it is clear that



many have the potential for further development and more subtle usage. Perhaps of greatest importance in appreciating the second level of strategic action is an understanding of the concept of agenda control. At its simplest it is nothing more than a level one strategy appreciated by both the strategist and those being influenced - an example being the headteacher limiting the amount of time for any other business at a staff meeting and thus effectively filibustering any motions put forward by the staff. Agenda control does, however, have a more complex strategic nature, for it includes both the control of content and the definition and restriction of the areas of debate.

Control is not limited to content and parameters can be drawn around the contextual and environmental opportunities that exist. One such strategic area, that is capable of being explained in Goffmanian terms, concerns the head teacher's ability to set the physical stage, this being especially so when the head teacher is the only one to have a private office and secretary. From these simple points alone, stems a wealth of strategic possibilities in terms of the level two dimension, here it is worth noting that the symbolically important is often equal to the practical. The ability to control time and timing also has its symbolic and practical strategic application. Most head teachers do not have the limitations of a full teaching time table and are, therefore able to allocate time strategically

... "come into my office after school"... having a far greater symbolic strategic power than the words imply. In my third, three dimensional view of strategy pressures are exerted on both the strategist and those being manipulated. Strategies at this level are based on ideological or underlying beliefs rather than planned courses of action designed to achieve certain aims. All strategies are open ended, insofar as their outcomes are concerned, the ideological nature of this level meaning that their parameters are not analysed fully before action. They operate at a level partially beyond the apprehension of those concerned and therefore shares one of the classic problems of Marxist analysis. 'Real' interests, declared interests, consciousness -v- false consciousness becoming definable only in terms of an analytical model and in the declaration of certain underlying values. In practice their nature is obscure. Both the head teacher and the staff are influenced by, such ideological controls as culture, class, these helping to formulate their own realities. An awareness of the error of misplaced concreteness is of value here. There can be an underpinning by 'hard' and quantifiable data incomparable within an apparent value consensus (not necessarily implying a value free from pre consensus). Characteristic of these ideologically based strategies are those that relate to questions of economic effectiveness and concern questions of overall equation of profit and loss. Thus the 'error' of

misplaced concreteness can become a strategy in itself moving from one stance to another at will without qualification.

At this more sophisticated level of strategy the controlling of the agenda re-occurs, but in a more subtle way. Through a variety of means, including the re-use of a number of refined elements extracted from lower order strategies, issues can be controlled. Those that appear as potentially dangerous can be prevented from arising and becoming part of the debate. The ability to prevent 'issues from becoming issues' being an indicator of real managerial power.

It is to be emphasised, however, that at this level of strategy the process is more complicated than the mere blocking of items on a physical agenda, but is concerned with the control of ideas rather than actions.

It is important to realise that within this threefold analysis of strategy items exist as separate types only within the model. In practice they are in a state of flux merging with and overtaking each other. A simple, seemingly obvious, games move may be underpinned by agenda control and at a greater depth by ideology.

A further aspect of head teacher strategy that is of interest is the way in which reference is made to teacher accountability. The way in which normative reference is made to this subject is as woolly and flexible as the ideological theories that are used to support it. To demonstrate this I use the image of

three continua. On the first, accountability ranges from a direct, personal level - between head and assistant teacher - to the concept of professional accountability, to job or academic discipline. Between these two extremes, a wide range of stages are identifiable. Strategic use can be made of this, by not making any clear reference to the exact nature of the accountability there exists the possibility for endless sideways movements of stance. A second, similar, continuum can be seen extending from a narrow, precise definition towards a very broad diffuse image. This again allows for highly selective use. Thus a teacher can be held to account because of poor time keeping on a specific day or more broadly criticised for not maintaining good order. In many disciplinary hearings the strategy is to criticise on the basis of a simple, narrow specific instance - such as time keeping - with the inference being that this is only symptomatic of a more serious condition.

A third continuum may yet be extrapolated thus demonstrating the differences between explicit and implied accountability. The complex nature of this area and the multi-dimensional strategies used, is further enhanced by the effects of environment and the context in which specific strategies operate. Assessments, record books, Register of Attendance etc all bringing their own contextual controls.

In this micro level analysis of some aspects of

headteacher management I have proceeded from the traditional management study of style through to the complexities of strategic control. I now conclude this section with an examination of some of the more contemporary studies of organisational procedures as perceived through the notion of micro-politics.

### Micro Politics

The world of micro politics is not one of theory, overt ideological pressure or influence but rather an organisational underworld, almost a taboo area in organisation/management studies. If micro politics are ignored in much of the literature of organisational and management studies, the same cannot be said for the staffroom where they are widely recognised and form the basis of much of the 'shop talk'. Hoyle, (ref Hoyle E 1982 page 126) defines them as ..."strategies by which individuals and groups in organisational contexts seek to use resources of authority and influence to further their interests"...

These are, for the most part, practical manifestations of my one dimensional view of strategy with certain level two implications. They can, however, be distinguished from the strategies of the organisational text book by their potentially illegitimate nature. They do not necessarily possess any of the niceties of common consensus but can represent the weapons in a continuous process of conflict. To make them even more elusive they operate along a continuum, at one extreme they are

almost indistinguishable from conventional management strategies while at the other they constitute an illegitimate world of self interest and manipulation. Micro-politics operate at all levels and in all organisations, even within those that have characteristically tight regimes, such as prisons. It is, however, the strategies that distinguish micro-politics from other forms of organisational behaviour. Hoyle (ref Hoyle E 1987) notes that bargaining is a characteristic of both managerial and micro level strategy. For example, at the management level, bargaining between unions and administration staff is an integral part of the administrative process. Hoyle (ref Hoyle E 1987 page 127) pointing out that ... "bargaining becomes more micropolitical to the degree that it is implied rather than explicit, outside rather than inside formal structures and procedures, and draws on informal resources of influence"...

Strategies are used to protect individuals' own interests and are for the most part secret, when they do emerge into the public domain they are often re-clothed in more 'acceptable' ideological/theoretical coverings. An example of this is the way in which individual or group interests may appear on the surface to be concerned with professional (here the term is applied to a commitment to a certain form of methodology, syllabus, curricula, teaching system etc) matters while at the deeper level the concern is with private questions of

status, promotion or working conditions. Here it is a mistake to see micro-politics working in support of established groups for by its nature it is transitory and as such its workings can only be applied to passing groups of individuals, tied together by short term common interests.

Thus such groupings as 'Old Guards' 'Young Turks' 'Womens Groups' outside school friendship or social groups etc may, in the micropolitical world, divide and reform constantly thus adding to the confused character of this domain.

The existence of micro political activity is irrefutable yet, as a field of enquiry it presents the researcher with many problems. It is a part of organisational management theory yet, in some ways distinct from it, it is also part of disciplines such as social psychology, politics, sociology etc yet no interdisciplinary approach has yet emerged. Perhaps the theoretical stances with greatest affinity to micro politics are those associated with exchange theory. Homans (ref Homans G C 1961) offers a rather simplistic view, based upon an economic model, that represents exchange as a functional operation, with each party gaining from the exchange. Blau (ref Blau p 1964) extends the scope of the model to include unequal exchanges. Within the domain of micro politics the exchange, while clearly operational, is much more complicated. I suggest that the concept of equilibrium is of only theoretical value

- a rough balance developed, so that parties do not gain 'too much' authority from the gift or that indebtedness does not become too great a burden - but that within this state dynamic repositioning is continually taking place.

Other areas of sociological research that have some bearing upon the micro political domain are games theory (already partially considered in my analysis of strategy) and Goffman's dramaturgical perspective, touched on in my analysis of style.

Little research has occurred in the field of micro politics within schools but Hoyle (ref Hoyle E 1981) provides the following model of some of the 'goods' available for headteacher - teacher exchanges.

<u>Head Teacher</u>	<u>Teacher</u>
Material resources	Esteem for head teacher
Promotion	Support
Esteem	Opinion Leadership
Authority	Conformity
Lax application of the rules	Reputation

These headings provide considerable scope for negotiation and bargaining, but it is difficult to categories how deals are struck for behind the formal behaviour much covert preparatory bargaining has gone on before.

Hoyle (ref Hoyle E 1987) suggests some of the more important strategies in which micro politics play a part but it is important to remember that the list is not



complete and that many strategies operate at different levels.

Some basic micro political strategies (based upon Hoyle E 1987)

- 1) Divide and rule - Use of group meetings e g Head of Department, Year and other groups
- 2) Co-optation - At both the factual and the symbolic level
- 3) Displacement - At meetings discussing material that can only be understood by those who have prior knowledge
- 4) Controlling information - Access to incoming documents
- 5) Controlling agenda - Style of meetings
- 6) Rigging agendas
- 7) Losing recommendations - Strategic use of the waste paper basket
- 8) 'Nobbling members' -
- 9) Managing Minutes -

These items represent some of the individual strategic techniques employed in the micro-political power struggle, some are clearly means of deception but others have an affinity to the general strategies of accountability. Illustrative of this is the notion of co-option, by involving others and developing cohesive groups both charisma and bureaucratic management can be strategically used. In the former charisma can demand loyalty to the group leader while at the bureaucratic level accountability becomes part of the structural

values of the group. Many of the other items in the list of strategic micro-political devices may rely upon claims to accountability in their operation but, a far more important function of accountability is its use as a means to justifying actions that, in their crude state may be considered to be illegitimate. This aspect will be expanded and illustrated in my subsequent case study analysis.

In this chapter I have examined, at the micro level, various aspects of the process of management, these have included various forms of style, different levels of strategy and the concept of micro politics.

Each of these theoretical devices provides insights that are of use in subsequent analysis. By examining various managerial styles it is possible to see how theoretical models can be applied to case examples. Here it is important to recognise the limitations of the ideal type, for a particular style is not dependent upon actions derived from a pre-conceived formula but, results from the perceptions of others. In the three managerial styles that I have examined accountability plays an important part, both at the level of belief and ideology and as a means of retrospective rationalisation and justification.

It also functions as a strategic device used in the context of micro political bargaining and negotiation.

In my examination of strategy I recognise a continuum spanning three definable stages. At the simple level

strategy is seen as working through 'tricks' and 'games moves' to achieve pre-determined ends while at the other extreme dominating ideologies and imposed realities are used to control actions. Within this model accountability can operate at all levels ranging from the simple and concrete through to the abstract.

The complicated and confusing way in which strategies from different levels operate simultaneously has its own strategic implications with judiciously selective interpretations being made in order to achieve certain ends.

My third area of enquiry has been concerned with the concept of micro politics. In many ways this aspect of organisational management is the most paradoxical for its existence is recognised by all - and is indeed a major topic of conversation whenever members of an organisation meet - yet the nature of its operation is extremely inaccessible. It is concerned with the bargaining, negotiation and conflict that characterises the operation of any organisation and as such contains within its parameters both the notions of style and of strategy, yet it goes well beyond these in its implications. At one level it represents the practical working out of the day to day details of management but, at a greater level of complexity, it includes a range of unofficial aspects of organisational life.

Notions such as colonisation of organisations, personal advancement and self preservation are all aspects of the

micro political domain, their operation and working procedures being the elements that constitute its content.

As I indicated earlier, the micro level approach, contained in this chapter, represents the operational aspects of the macro level theories considered in Chapter II. Together they provide a theoretical framework that can be used in the analysis of the case material that I consider later.

### CHAPTER THREE (A)

#### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON "ACCOUNTABILITY IN THE MIDDLE YEARS OF SCHOOLING - AN ANALYSIS OF POLICY OPTIONS BEING THE FINAL REPORT OF THE EAST SUSSEX LEA/UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX RESEARCH PROJECT"

After completing a wide ranging review of the available literature applicable to the scope and context of this thesis further references became available. This is an inevitable aspect of research and in most circumstances a halt has to be called unless the project is to become endless. In this case, however, because of certain technical difficulties that have arisen after the completion of the primary research, this additional sub-section has been included. This I consider to be acceptable insomuch as the report that forms the basis of the additional sub-section was produced during the initial research stage.

In many ways a number of items within the additional research can be seen as precursors of current events within the Educational Accountability debate. It is tempting to extend some of these tentative outlines to encompass the outcomes of recent Government legislation, this has been rejected as inappropriate, the review ending with this publication.

The research is contained in the Final Report of the East Sussex LEA/University of Sussex Research Project - "Accountability in the Middle Years of Schooling : An analysis of Policy Options" (ref Becher, Eraut, Barton, Canning and Knight 1979). The research project spanned two academic years, between 1977 and 1979, and had been

preceded by a short feasibility study. For convenience this work will be generally referred to as The Project except where specific quotations are made when normal bibliographic procedures will be adopted.

While both my own research and that contained in the research project are ostensibly concerned with accountability in the education system, they focus attention on quite separate issues. With this fact in mind it is interesting that within the numerous differences of approach there are certain key similarities. It would be naive to use this factor as a means of confirming my own research but it provides a basis for analysis that is stronger than if the respective undertakings produced conflicting theories and conclusions. In so far as that a proportion of the research project has a superficial similarity to my own research, there is a risk of being so highly selective when attempting to isolate relevant or corroborative items that the overall meaning of the project may be lost and the selective 'snapshots' allowed to distort or misrepresent the author's intentions. With this proviso in mind I seek both to select items of special interest to my own work while providing a not unnecessarily long review of the research project as a whole. The basis of my selection of specific items from the research project is easily defined, my own work is concerned with the theoretical, philosophical and ideological basis of accountability and how these manifest themselves in the Headteacher's management of teaching staff. The research

project is concerned with an analysis of the procedures, their background and implications both loosely informal and high formal, that have been adopted or considered by a specific L.E.A. and a group of its Primary-Middle schools. When these procedures can be identified with an item contained in my own typological analysis, or in the subsequent case study reviews I have selected them for further comment.

The research project is divided into five separate, yet closely connected sections, each one examining the question of applied accountability from a different standpoint. The first examines seven different perspectives, namely: 'The Grapevine', Parents, Committee Members (Governors), LEA Officers and Advisory (Inspectors), Headteachers, Teachers and the Press and Media. Of these one of the potentially most interesting is entitled 'The Grapevine', this soubriquet refers to the entangled web of fantasy, heresy and reported 'facts' that have been gleaned from innumerable conversations, both formal or snatched in corridors etc. The report correctly values these apparent random, disorganised soundings in that they have a potent effect on the opinions and beliefs of many of those involved in the school process. This observation matches well with my own emphasis on the importance of micro political activity (ref. Chapter III). The often random and confusing nature of the material makes analysis very difficult for as I stress, when the outcome of 'The Grapevine' - micro political activity - become part of

formal statements or reports they are reconstituted and given legitimisation and logic that is not apparent in their original format. This is clearly seen in the case study material, contained in the latter part of this thesis. Within this first section of the Report three other groups are identified; Parents, Committee Members (Governors) and the Press (Media). Their inclusion is obvious, the first two being clearly involved in schools and their operation and the latter recognising the widespread public interest in education and of its potential as a source of news. In terms of the scope my own thesis their importance takes on a negative rather than a positive role. I have not found it necessary to devote space to an examination of their characteristics, other than at the most superficial level - for example in determining the identity of the paymaster etc. This is substantiated by the case study material where they gain hardly a mention. That the two studies should display such a divergence of content is not, however surprising; the Research Project is concerned with calls for accountability and the ways in which these calls might be answered, whereas my own work emphasises management and the power basis that enable the various participants to operate. It is not surprising therefore, that the disputes discussed in the case study section make only scant reference to the influence of Governors, Parents and the Media. Even in the case of the formal Grievance Procedures great care was taken to ensure that Governors were advised as to their



legal positions by representatives of the L.E.A. while the teacher evoking the Grievance relied on the specialist full-time union official.

If such sensitive material was allowed to spread into the parental (and therefore inevitably the pupils' sphere of interest both the Headteacher, Teachers and L.E.A. officers involved would have little control of outcomes and the moral high ground of professionalism would be lost. The discrete procedures of the bureaucratic hierarchy would count for little and the power to mobilise support, with any degree of certainty, would diminish. These points clearly apply to newspapers and the media for the same reasons. Within this preliminary section of the Report, LEA officers, Headteachers and Teachers are also highlighted. While my own work contains only passing reference to the role of the LEA official, they do figure in some of the case study material - I therefore intend to superficially examine aspects of the accountability debate as considered in the Reports analysis of 'Authority based accountability'.

Many of the findings concerning Headteachers are more relevant to my thesis, with two contrasting and, at times, conflicting themes converging. Firstly a series of defined areas of responsibility exist with the Headteacher being both accountable for their implementation and to the Governors, the LEA etc. etc., for their interpretation. These provide both a power base and a limitation on possible courses of action; these points being developed

further in my analysis of case study material. While these forms of accountability, usually closely associated with the model of a bureaucratic hierarchy, are key elements to understanding the Headteacher's role as school manager, a more interesting perspective is alluded to. The Report notes how ..... "it was noticeable in the parents interviewed how much time was spent talking about Heads, and how frequently their remarks focused on the Head's personal qualities : 'He is a strong man'; 'He treats parents as people'; 'He is a great politician' ..... (ref Becher, Eraut, Barton, Canning & Knight 1979). While different parents, and no doubt teacher staff, viewed their Headteacher in entirely different ways the emphasis on perceived style and the charisma of the individual - or individual supported by office - seemed to be a key factor. The power of the Headteacher appears to be based on the structural framework of the rules, procedures etc of the hierarchy but are confirmed by the micro political activities of day to day action.

Finally in dealing with the teacher's perspective the Report emphasises the importance of the professional role. As I have already discussed, in an earlier section of this thesis, the concept of professionalism is a highly complex one, frequently being misinterpreted and containing subtleties of meaning that are not always apparent. While in no way criticising the Report as being simplistic, its use of the term professional is applied to the job of teaching and therefore has a more limited and easily

'digested' meaning. Frequently the authors equate professionalism with the vocational aspect of work - the formal procedures, techniques as well as the generally accepted scope of curricula and pedagogic practice. Thus by limiting the terms scope it becomes less contentious - although this does not preclude the fact that arguments may well occur over individual components, such as the benefits obtained from the use of a particular method or the content of a curriculum. Even so, because of the notion's potential for emotional and ideological use it always needs to be examined with some caution. This is especially true when apparently straightforward professional policies or techniques are used as strategies in their own right, to reinforce the power base of a particular teacher or group of teachers. The status of an individual subject within the curriculum can increase, or indeed diminish, the power of those who deliver it. In extreme cases considerable financial benefits can be accrued or conversely a member of staff can be removed through compulsory redundancy. Within the micro political domain the Headteacher can distance him or herself from the decisions by blaming 'new methods', the LEA, a Government Policy or can demonstrate powers of patronage by associating themselves with the change.

In part two of the Report the authors expand their analysis of certain fundamental concepts, to a certain extent I have already taken some of these and included them in my limited review of the introductory section.

Finally, attention is drawn to the importance of public confidence, this being important both in terms of accountability to a client and also as a stimulus to problem solving and maintenance via a range of procedures. Again both these factors can be interpreted as strategic means by which a Headteacher can manage the staff and be influenced by them. That parents should have confidence in the school that educates their children is not such a simplistic notion as may be initially considered. Much of the Report's work is concerned with the ways in which various procedures may be adapted both to satisfy the demands of parents (seen as potential claimants to the role of client) and the maintenance of standards as defined by a variety of interest groups. A detailed analysis of the various means of achieving this problem solving and maintenance work is undertaken, with examples being considered from informal teacher to teacher discussions on individual pupil's progress to the highly formal mandatory and constitutional relationships that are established between employer and staff. From the point of view of my own work the key aspects are not so much the procedures of maintaining day to day school life - as an agreed set of occupational job specifications, but the ways in which all of these can be used in what I have termed as the strategic context and in the micro political underworld. It may be possible to argue that the more formal the rules the more suitable they are for forming the core, skeletal framework

on which to hang the more diffuse micro political body of daily school life.

While putting aside much of the Report's findings regarding the practical procedures of school accountability two issues are worthy of specific recognition - the role of the LEA advisory/inspectors and testing.

An important aspect of LEA based accountability procedures concern the work of the advisors/inspectors. The Report recognises two facets of their work, the first explaining the advisory aspects of their role, the second the role of inspector. As an advisor it is hoped that the individual will bring to the notice of schools worthwhile developments, examples of good practice and advice borne out of expertise and experience. Most of the Middle schools mentioned in the Report recognised this aspect of the LEA's work in addition, however the role of inspection with threat of sanctions is also present. At the time of the Report (and much of the case study material) there seems to be an emphasis on the former advisory role, especially in Middle schools. Visits to schools were frequent, numerous courses and workshops were established and a familiarity between advisor and teacher was not uncommon; this was not so clearly defined in the Secondary sectors. I consider the way in which 'advisory' visits have been used in the fourth of my case study examples. Although not highlighted in any of the case studies included in this thesis, the ideology, methodology and vocabulary of testing has a powerful influence both in

terms of straight forward outcomes and as part of the way in which accountability can be used strategically as a means of control. Testing, and indeed Record Keeping, instead of being means of finding out what pupils can do, can be turned on its head and be perceived as a form of covert teacher appraisal.

In concluding this brief observation concerning the 'East Sussex Project', and before examining my case study material, I feel that in the spirit of my own work the final sentence in the Report is a worthy quotation, they say ..... "Accountability - to revive a once much quoted catch phrase - is not so much a programme more a way of life"..... (ref Becher, Eraut etc 1979).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### INTRODUCTION

Having attempted in Chapters 2, 3 and 3a, to examine both the macro and micro level theories associated with the concept of accountability, I now turn to the case study material. Using, as a basis, my threefold typology I seek to provide illustrations and explanations of various aspects of accountability. These case study examples are derived from a range of materials concerned with the operational details of schools' management. It is to be expected that various aspects of the theoretical analysis will be demonstrated in these case examples. This process, in itself being somewhat Janus headed, with the case materials being exemplars of the theory and the theory being an explanation of the events in the case studies. Those theories that present organisational structures (as well as society at the macro level) as the products of sets of 'apriori' conditions, place the individuals that work in them in positions of responsibility. They are held accountable for the smooth running of the system, making the day to day alterations that, may be necessary, for the 'fine tuning' of the mechanism. Within schools, testing, recording and the other technical procedures fall under this heading, with teachers being held accountable for the successful operation of the organisational mechanism.

Also from a theoretical system based upon 'laws' comes the concept of bureaucratic rationality. This concept brings with it a number of important notions that are bound up with various aspects of accountability. Within organisations that purport to follow or approximate this mode of organisation, the individual is held to be accountable not only for the duties that are specifically assigned to them, but also to those above them in the hierarchy, and for those that work in levels below them. The ideology of bureaucratic management also maintains that individuals should be supportive of the aims of the organisation, this aspect of control being used as a means of calling the individual to account when specific rule systems are inappropriate or ineffective. Few, if any, organisational systems even approximate the rigid details of the ideal type model yet most exhibit some characteristics of the form. The modes of accountability associated with the type can, therefore be frequently applied to a range of organisations not necessarily considered bureaucratic. In the case studies various aspects of bureaucratic accountability frequently occur; in some instances they take the form of an individual's perception of another's behaviour. An example of this may be a teacher referring to a head adopting a bureaucratic style (ref Case Study I) or as (in Case Study II) reference to an assistant teacher using Trade Union advice and contractual details as a 'Rule Book'. The



dichotomy that various functionalist analysts perceive to exist between bureaucratic organisations and professional work also manifests itself, with individuals interpreting events in terms of 'contractual' duty and 'professional' duty.

The second item in my typology is concerned with those aspects of accountability that are based upon financial and contractual considerations. Here questions related to the notion of value for money or whether the service provided matched the requirements of the 'paymaster' are considered. Within this type a major problem relates to the identity of the 'paymaster' and this aspect brings its own problems of accountability. The headteacher, as agent for the L.E.A., Governors and Parents - as well as a leader in his/her own right - faces a number of problems in respect of defining contractual duty. However, many of the ambiguous areas that form the basis of controversy in the case examples have now been removed. The wider ranging powers of authority vested in the headteacher through the provision of the 1987 Education Act clarifying a number of grey areas.

My third, and final item is, in many ways, the most complicated for it is concerned with those aspects of accountability that are based upon notions of professionalism. Many of the theories that relate to this concept contradict each other, these areas of confusion being focused upon in the case study debates. In crude, simple terms, definitions of professionalism

range from an emphasis on the perceived needs of the clients to forms of collegiate monopoly where the chief concern is the furtherance of the membership. From within the case study examples I seek to highlight a range of interpretations and show how they frequently serve as supportive concepts to bureaucratic or financial modes of accountability.

These various forms of accountability operate in a number of different ways; at one level they can be seen as the basis for the ideas and concepts that eventually constitute action. This does not assume that they are necessarily actions resulting from professional, analytical or philosophical thought - but rather that they are actions determined by a 'ramshackled' collections of beliefs. Within such a framework there is ample scope for contradiction with frequent moves from one doctrinal stance to another, without any apparently logical philosophical bridge.

At another level, the various forms of accountability operate not as a basis for action but, rather as a means to report, rationalise, justify and legitimate events. Many of the case study examples are composed of reported actions - some of these reports having been constructed well after the events. Here aspects of accountability are frequently used in this rationalising mode, this being especially so when a particular viewpoint is being developed and supportive evidence is being sought. However, I do not limit the strategic use of

accountability to this simple level - one in which it functions as a form of constructive excuse; - I have, in Chapter Three outlined a range of strategic levels, each one progressively more complicated and sophisticated. Accountability functions, as a strategic means of explaining actions both at the concrete and at the symbolic levels. An added complication is demonstrated in a number of case examples; here simple level aspects of accountability - such as time keeping and punctuality - are paralleled with more diffuse aspects of professional commitment, the proximity give rise to a general symbolic aura of accountability that is capable of very effective strategic use. In other cases attempts are made to use bureaucratic authority as a means of enforcing notions of professional accountability. This hybrid use of the concept of accountability is of interest for, when the professional notions are questioned, and reinterpreted, the hierarchial authority invested by the bureaucracy is used in an attempt to veto further discussion.

The case study material that I use in this section of my thesis has been derived from four selected disputes that are of varying degrees of complexity and seriousness. All the schools involved are Comprehensive High Schools and range from a small former Secondary Modern School in a quiet rural town to a former single sex Grammar School in a medium sized industrial conurbation. The case material has been drawn from the reports of incidents

that occurred between the late 1970's and the mid 1980's. Except for certain major changes, regarding teachers' contractual duties that have occurred as a result of the 1987 Education Act the nature of the disputes remain contemporary in character. Each one of the case examples is different, both in terms of content and in the way that accountability is used as a basis for action or as an explanation of it. In the first example a head teacher attempts to introduce a system of formal meetings, their stated purpose being to provide the head with a means of obtaining information about the functioning of the school's departments and house structures. The method chosen to achieve this aim is strongly bureaucratic, with the head teacher being placed at the peak of the hierarchy. For many of the staff the new change in working practice was seen as an unnecessary imposition. In explaining his/her actions, the head referred to a tightening of the organisational structure. In response the Trade Union Officer, representing the staff, adopted the traditional arguments associated with professionals within bureaucratic organisations. Emphasis was placed on the notion of professional independence and the corporate unity of the staff. The arguments of both parties are supported by considerable symbolic rhetoric, this covering over many of the 'real' motives that provoked both the initial action and the response. Because the documentation represents only the formal statements,

from the respective factions in the dispute, much of the micro political activity is unavailable, therefore any attempt at interpreting motives is likely to be highly speculative and subjective. The case, nevertheless, is illustrative of a number of interesting features pertinent to this thesis.

My second case example is concerned with a dispute between a head of department and an assistant teacher. The problem developed out of a disagreement over the supervision of out of school - non-contractual - games, during a period of National Industrial Action. The head of department, a member of the Professional Association of Teachers, advocated a form of 'professional' behaviour that favoured an individual response levelled at the perceived needs of the clients. The assistant teacher, a member of a T.U.C.- affiliated Union, claimed a contradictory interpretation of professionalism - seeing it as based upon collegiate solidarity, and the long term interests of the occupational group. As the dispute developed the head teacher was 'drawn in' and given the managerial problem of adjudicating in the dispute while at the same time attempting to remain isolated from the respective ideological arguments. Here again various uses of accountability as a strategic device are demonstrated.

The third case study is again concerned with varying interpretations of professionalism. Here a head of department invokes a Grievance Procedure in an attempt

to resolve a long running dispute between himself and the head teacher. In terms of the statements used during the Grievance Procedure hearing, the main issues were the contractual - non-contractual nature of out-of-school activities. The head teacher maintained that Saturday morning and out of school games were a duty that had been established by tradition and supported (according to his/her interpretation) by a belief in professional conduct. In contrast, the head of department maintained that such duties were non-contractual and, therefore, entirely voluntary. In this case study accountability is used as a major strategic ploy in defining the parameters of actions for the various parties. It may also be seen as a basis for the beliefs that motivated these actions, here it is only possible to make speculative comments for, because of the nature of the case data, much of the micro political background is inaccessible.

In my final case study the key issues at the heart of the dispute concern differing interpretations of a head teacher's actions. Here a head of department makes the claim that the criticism levelled at him/her by the head teacher, was nothing more than a strategic 'stick' with which to 'beat' him/her. The motive for this punitive action being the head teacher's opposition to the head of department's trade union activities.

The head teacher adopted a different stance and claimed that his/her activities resulted from a concern over the

standard of the head of department's classroom teaching. Here accountability is again seen as a strategic device with the emphasis being on quality of service and value for money. In this case an interesting side issue arises, thus relating to the ways in which L.E.A. advisors can be used, by both parties, as supportive agents for their respective claims.

For each of the case studies I follow a similar format for analysis. Firstly I provide a simple preamble that outlines in an objective way the main issues that form the content of the dispute. From this I attempt to isolate and highlight some of the main conceptual issues that I expect to be exhibited in the case study. This is followed with an analysis of the case data and a general conclusion.

It is important that a distinction is made between those aspects of the analysis that can be directly supported by data, and those that must be speculative. Behind the 'sanitised' items of case material lies a potentially complex mass of micro-political intrigue and confused detail. As I outline in the appendix dealing with methodology this, for the most part, must remain largely impenetrable.

## CASE STUDY ONE

Preamble: An outline of the case - based upon available data

This dispute occurred within a large Comprehensive High School, that before reorganisation had been a single-sex Grammar School. The problem occurred when the headteacher attempted to introduce what he/she described as a 'consultative structure'. The new arrangements came to the notice of the staff at the beginning of the Spring Term when the headteacher circulated a general letter informing the staff of his proposals. The letter stated that in future there would be departmental/house meetings at half termly intervals and that these meetings should be organised on formal lines. Heads of House/Department were to act as chairmen and that an agenda was to be circulated before the meeting. Minutes were to be taken, and a copy of this record sent to the headteacher prior to the date of the meeting. Many staff objected to the introduction of this formal system and sought the advice of their professional associations. In response to this request one of the unions offered the following advice; firstly that it considered the setting up of a consultative structure by edict a contradiction in terms and secondly that while recognising the headteacher's right to know what was going on in the school, the use of a formal meeting represented an unnecessary chore. Thirdly the union reiterated its commitment to professional



behaviour but emphasised the then contractual situation whereby teachers could not be compelled to attend meetings during lunch breaks or after school hours.

The attempted introduction took place at a time of National industrial Action when a 'work to rule' was in operation. Any such out of school meetings, therefore, would most likely, be boycotted by the members of both major teaching unions. The headteacher was informed of the opinion given by the union and the matter was apparently not raised again.

Documents included:

- i) Letter of instruction from headteacher to all staff
- ii) Letter of response from County Secretary of teachers Union.

### Introduction

Within this case study I identify two main aspects of the accountability debate. Firstly I consider the ways in which individuals can be made accountable by the development of a strictly controlled bureaucratic system and, secondly how the 'traditional' arguments concerning the supposed dichotomy between bureaucratic work and professional work can be used as a means of legitimating arguments.

In the first example bureaucratic rules serve to highlight the hierarchical system within the school. Here there can frequently be areas of ambiguity especially when a house and subject/department system is operated consecutively. By the initiation of this

'consultative procedure' the various levels are more clearly established. In addition to this vertical division of the staff there is a reinforcement of the horizontal division that separates teachers into different houses and departments.

A number of significant factors arise from this, particularly the way in which staff membership groups are organised by the leader of the hierarchy and that in so doing a potential threat is removed. An additional strategic advantage can arise from any inter group rivalry that may develop for this can direct attention away from the leadership and towards a more diffuse opposition.

My second area of analysis is concerned with the advice given to the teaching staff by the union officials. Because of the somewhat crude methods adopted by the headteacher when attempting to introduce the new procedures, it was fairly predictable that the union would attempt to take the superficially 'moral high ground' and base their opposition on 'professional' grounds. Here they follow many of the concepts that have, for many years, been quoted in descriptions of the perceived differences between professional and bureaucratic work. I have argued in Chapter II that many of these are illusory, insofar as they are concerned with the mobilising of power than any specific differences in working practice. One of the main uses of this case study is as an exemplar of the way in which

notions of professional conduct can be used as legitimating devices in support of arguments. In contrast to certain of the later case examples this appears as a simple dispute with rather stereotyped arguments being presented by both sides. This may, or may not be a fair comment, for it is clear that the original document (that attempted to initiate the new procedures) and the union's letter of response both fail to illustrate the extent of the micro political activity that preceded the printed comments.

#### Case Study I Extract A

XXXXXXXXXX SCHOOL

TO ALL STAFF

#### Consultative Structure

From January 19xx there will be a requirement that every House and every Study has one formal meeting in each half-term.

A formal meeting will meet the following requirements:

- (a) A published date, time and start and venue;
- (b) An agenda published in advance to all staff entitled to attend - copies to headteacher and deputies;
- (c) The head of House/Head of Study will be chairman;
- (d) A secretary will be appointed to keep a Minute Book;
- (e) Minutes will be taken and recorded in the Minute Book; their approval and matters arising will be on subsequent agendas. The Minute Book will be required for perusal by the Headteacher immediately prior to each half term/full term.

XXXXXXXXXX  
Headteacher

Case Study I Extract B

198x

Mr xxxxxx  
Union Representative  
xxxxxx School

Dear Colleague

CONSULTATIVE STRUCTURE XXXXXXXXXXXX SCHOOL

Further to our 'phone conversation of earlier this evening, I write to confirm the details of union advice regarding the above document passed to me by our xxxxx

Association Secretary.

I have raised this matter with xxxxxx (Senior Assistant Secretary, union H.Q.), and xxxxx (N.E.C. MEMBER DISTRICT XXX). It is their view that:

- (1) to attempt to set up a "consultative structure" by edict, and without discussion with the staff concerned, is a contradiction in terms;
- (2) whilst the union would, of course, accept that a Head of Department/House is responsible for keeping his/her headteacher informed of development within his/her area of work, a requirement to publish agendas and keep and circulate minutes constitutes an unnecessarily formal procedure - such practices should not be needed where good working relationships exist - and the imposition of an additional administrative chore;
- (3) whilst the union is justifiably proud of the professional commitment demonstrated by its members - not least at xxxxx School - through the time and energy freely devoted to non contractual activities, the Association will support those who resist attempts to compel them to attend meetings, etc. during their lunch break or after school.

I hope the above is helpful. Please do not hesitate to contact me again should you require further assistance.

Yours sincerely

XXXXXXXXXXXX  
County Secretary

### An analysis of the Case Study Data

In this case study I highlight two conceptual aspects of educational accountability; control through bureaucratic organisation and justification through the notion of professionalism. In the headteacher's letter (ref Case Study Extract A) there appears to be a clear attempt to increase, within the school, the level of bureaucracy. This is indicated by the prescriptive range of procedures he advocated (ref Case Study Extract A). A typical example of this is the recommendation that formal meetings should be held at specific intervals and that they should follow a given procedure, that date, time and venue should be published, that attendance should be limited to specific staff, that agendas be circulated, that minutes be taken, chairman and secretary appointed and details forwarded to the head teacher for scrutiny.

By introducing this bureaucratic procedure the headteacher was able to employ a number of strategic devices. At a very simplistic level the 'consultative structure' provides for the head teacher a means by which he or she can obtain information about the running of the school organisation. The right of the head teacher to ask for this information goes largely unquestioned, as is shown in the Trade Union response (Case Study I ref B), here reference is made to the head of department/house being ..."responsible for

keeping his/her head teacher informed of developments within his/her area of work"... It would, however, be naive to see this attempt at instigating a consultative structure as being nothing more than an information gathering strategy. If this was the only motive for the exercise it would probably not have proved to be very effective as minutes from imposed formal meetings tend to project a rather narrow interpretation of the feelings of the department or house staff. I therefore seek to illustrate some of the broader strategic implications resulting from the proposed 'consultative structure'. By adopting a strictly bureaucratic mode the head teacher is effectively confirming the established methods of organisation, with its departments and house structures. In emphasising this organisational model the headteacher is preventing the introduction of alternative interpretations of the system. The staff by being compartmentalised into given departments and house blocks are restricted in their ability to form into other alternative 'power' groups, whether based upon notions of professional unity or through micro-political coalitions. By encouraging the system of departments and house groups the full staff body becomes susceptible to strategies of 'divide and rule'. The organisational model also reinforced the head teacher's own status by emphasising his,/her position at the top of the school's hierarchial pyramid. The introduction of the 'consultative' document reinforces this by showing

clearly that the head teacher was the initiator of the device, and those at lower levels would follow his/her prescribed actions. Accountability is perceived as being both to the head teacher as leader of the hierarchial order and to the system.

The model also emphasises the status of those lower down the hierarchy; heads of department, heads of house etc all being placed at different positions within the organisational model. This has the strategic effect of making individual members accountable to 'section leaders' who have a more direct control on the rank and file than could be exercised by a simple overall leader. Individual heads of department/house may welcome this confirmation of status for it strengthens their own power base when bargaining and negotiating localised arrangements. Illustrative of a more complex notion of strategy is the way in which the imposed bureaucratic structure controls debate, by allowing for agendas to be limited and prescribed, and the mechanism of the debate to be pre-determined. By restricting the rights of entry to a particular house or department meeting and by providing a prescribed structure, debate is limited and the strategies for opposition restricted. Numerous micro-political activities can be identified in this form of meeting, including domination of debate, etc all these being made possible by the format. Thus by imposing a particular organisational model (particular models being associated with certain styles of

management) the available realities and interpretations of reality can be controlled. At the other end of the continuum of strategic complexity the operation of a bureaucratic device, such as this consultative structure, can be used as a means of occupying the time of those who, given the opportunity, may utilise their resources for more 'disruptive' activity.

I have, therefore attempted to use the concepts developed in the earlier chapters of this thesis to interpret the head teacher's letter, the Trade Union response also provides the opportunity for a similar form of analysis.

Those staff who expressed displeasure at the head teacher's letter and who were members of a particular trade union asked that the matter should be referred to union headquarters, and that a response be made.

That official union advice was sought was somewhat unusual, for within the school union support was not very active and there was no history of official disputes with the then headteacher. It is possible that the national/local Trade Union action resulted in a closer relationship between the school's union representative and the local officials, thus giving a greater degree of opportunity for airing grievances and seeking official union advice.

While it can only be a matter of subjective opinion it is most likely that many of the reasons behind the union members' objections to the headteacher's letter came



from the domain of micro political activity rather than from strongly held ethical or ideological beliefs. Subjectively it may be suggested that a fear of the headteacher gaining greater insight into the day to day activity of the school, or that the imposed task would waste more valuable time may have been at the heart of the complaint. In a similar vein, fear that individual departments would gain from the exercise, that individuals may increase their status or that teachers well versed in the 'political' strategies of self and group promotion may gain authority and power through the meetings may have played some part in the general fear engendered by the new system. As all their objections are at a more or less illegitimate level, they could not be voiced, but required a legitimate format for public presentation. The advice from the unions (ref Case Study I Extract B) provided a framework for legitimating these objections. Three main points were made, these being;

- 1) Consultative structure by 'edict' and without discussion were a contradiction
- 2) Acceptance of Head Teachers' Legal rights and responsibilities - but questions methodology and and good practice also admits that the structure represents an imposed 'chore'
- 3) Emphasises commitment to out of school work but states legal position of staff in relationship to out of school activities

These notes contain a number of strategic devices that are worth further analysis. Firstly, as already mentioned, the teachers' union accepts that the headteacher has the right to involve him or herself in the way the school operates, at a house or department level. In accepting this a two fold point is made, the first is a basic recognition of a contractual legal fact, but the second develops a strategic initiative through the use of symbolism. The union gives itself the image of accepting the realities of the 'professional' responsible teaching body whose natural conservatism is antagonistic to bureaucratic control. The second strategic response develops the notion of professionalism, here the headteacher's methodology is criticised, both in terms of the language used in the original letter and by the 'inappropriate' means that he/she proposed. The union's letter attempts to gain the strategic advantage by pointing out the possible contradiction between the idea of a consultative structure and an instruction concerning the introduction of a rigid monitoring device. This is followed by carefully pointing out those areas (minutes, agendas, formal structures etc) that they consider to be unnecessary when 'good' working relationships are in operation. Their criticisms are used to both undermine the legitimacy of the headteacher's action and to reinforce the 'professionally' responsible image that the union, on this occasion is attempting to create.

The union's claims that it supports the 'professional' commitment of its members both in terms of contractual and non-contractual activity is in itself part of their own legitimating process. By being able to speak for its members and make claims using a professional ideology and rhetoric they reinforce their own status and consequently strengthen their position when bargaining with management. In attempting to present a 'professional' unified front against the bureaucratic structure, implied by the head teacher's letter, the union, probably inadvertently, was creating an image that has a number of similarities with that contained in the traditional literature concerning professionals -v- the bureaucratic organisation. I have referred to this supposed area of conflict in Chapter Two of this thesis and while the arguments rely upon somewhat misplaced theoretical beliefs, concerning both the nature of professionalism and bureaucracy, the 'folklore' of this 'conflict' has at least some strategic value in this case study example.

The final strategic ploy used, in the union response, has a number of effects. By threatening to take limited industrial action (in this case advising members not to attend those meetings that could be deemed as being non-contractual) the union would be able to highlight the headteacher's 'failure' to manage an element within his or her staff. No only would other teachers, pupils and parents become aware of the dispute the problem would be

brought to the attention of the Governing body and the Local Education Authority. By formalising the dispute, support for both the teachers and the head would tend to be polarised with the associated risk of identifying 'winners' and 'losers'. For the union the cost of taking such action would be minimal and if in due course the action was seen to fail the damage would not be great. 'Losing' for the headteacher, however, would represent a much greater problem - this point will re-emerge in a number of subsequent case study examples. For the union the threat of industrial action also served as an indication to the membership of the group's power and willingness to support a local issue, this being important in terms of maintaining support and group solidarity. After the cessation of national industrial action the headteacher did not renew his plans for the introduction of a 'consultative structure' neither did the union take any localised industrial action, the matter being allowed to 'fade' away. I believe it would be a fair assumption to see that underlying the actions of the various groups involved there are various ideological and theoretical concepts associated with accountability. These may well include claims for the effective and rational use of bureaucratic organisations or the importance of 'professional' independence etc. However, it is clear that the stated and unstated motives of the various individuals involved are more the product of micro-political strategy, aimed at fulfilling

their own individual desires and needs rather than any deep felt or clearly thought out philosophy. Within the morass of micro-political strategy reference to theoretical or ideological basis of accountability are made, in order that individuals and groups can legitimate their position and justify their actions. These complex acts re-occur, in a modified form, in my other case study examples.

#### CASE STUDY TWO

Preamble: An outline of the case based upon available data

This dispute, like that in the previous example, occurred within a large urban Comprehensive High School and concerns a member of the P.E. department and the headteacher. The dispute began with an argument between the head of department (Q) and the assistant teacher (A). During a period of National industrial action the assistant teacher, following the advice of her union had withdrawn from voluntary out-of-school activities including sporting fixtures. The head of department, as a member of the non T.U.C. affiliated Professional Association of Teachers did not support this industrial action but, on an earlier occasion, had agreed not to take on any of the duties formerly undertaken by the trade union member. After several pupils had asked for additional hockey the head of department decided to break with the former arrangement and to arrange and supervise 'out of school' matches. This change resulted

in considerable acrimony within the department. The head of department, unhappy at the way in which the dispute was affecting her 'status' and perceptions of how the subject should be managed reported the incident to the headteacher. As a result of this the assistant teacher (A) was called to the headteacher's office. During the interview the head reminded A that she was subordinate to Q and should not criticise the actions of the head of department. In addition the head made reference to the rights of all members of staff to hold personal opinions as regards Trade Union activities, but that he did not wish these opinions to result in the harassment of certain members of staff. During the interview various other areas of disagreement were raised, the meeting ending without any clear cut agreements.

Following on from this meeting A's school (union) representative met with the head teacher, in order to obtain details in case the dispute became formal and representation was needed. The union representative confirmed the details of the preceding incidents and agreed in principle with the head teacher that all staff were free to act in accordance with their consciences, so long as this was compliant with the parameters of their contract. The headteacher emphasised his belief that the dispute brought the head of department's authority and status into question and that he considered this to be unacceptable. After a short period of heated

discussion the interview was terminated.

After some time had elapsed A's school union representative, having reported the incidents to his/her own headquarters, received a reply that sympathised with A's predicament and thanked her for supporting union policy. In this letter the suggestion was made that at the next formal meeting between A and the headteacher a local union officer should be present. If after negotiation between the local union officer and the headteacher no progress was made the possibility of involving other union members in some form of collective action was suggested.

Some little time before the meeting between the local union officer and the headteacher took place, the national union action was called off and A returned to her 'normal' pattern of school activity.

This latter point plus the fact that A had obtained a new post at a different school meant that much of the 'steam' had gone out of the dispute, both sides making their own points and parting reasonably amicably.

Documents included

- i) Report of Conversation between Head of P.E. (Q) and Assistant Teacher (A)
- ii) Assistant teacher's (A) report of meeting between herself and headteacher
- iii) Report of meeting between headteacher and school

union representative

- iv) Letter from Union Regional Headquarters to  
Assistant Teacher (A)

### Introduction

Within this case study I seek to identify those contrasting ways in which accountability can be used as a means to explain behaviour. As indicated in the preamble the dispute concerns a disagreement centred around the conflicting interpretations of professional conduct. In simplistic terms this can be seen as one faction equating professionalism with the provision of services deemed as necessary for the short term good of the clients, and the other interpreting the concept in terms of collegiate unity and the achievement of long term occupational goals. Both these arguments follow predictable, stereotyped formats - the possible cause of this being the nature of the recorded data - with various arguments being presented in support of both views. I emphasise in the analysis of this data the problems of separating, the motive that underlines the arguments, from the justifying rhetoric. I suggest, that to some degree motives of self interest and personal promotion may exist, yet it is equally likely that firmly held opinions and beliefs support the actions and events. In Chapter Three of this thesis, I outline various levels of strategy - from the idea of simple tricks through to domination by ideology - these



levels are also applicable to the actions outlined in this case study. The argument between the two P.E. teachers seems at first to be extremely trivial and possibly silly both in terms of content and nature. Such conflicts do, however, take on a far more serious dimensions for those involved, an indication of this being the considerable amount of time and commitment devoted to reporting the incident and in recounting the content to outside parties. If, therefore, the apparently trivial is treated with such concern then there would appear to be some indication that events are based upon some form of 'firm footing'.

Whether these are based on deeply held moral principles or in the hope that the outcome will have some important implication is largely a matter for conjecture. I suggest therefore, that the motives for this dispute are based on a variety of factors, that together represented a manifestation of a wider grievance with the documented issues being only a fragmented section of the whole. This raises a number of problems associated with analysis at the micro-political level, these being matters that I intend to return to later. As an overlay to the initial dispute there exists the response of the headteacher and trade union officers. The former appeared to recognise that the dispute brings with it various, somewhat difficult, managerial problems. Because these arise from an area outside his/her immediate domain they are potentially difficult to

handle. As the case progresses it becomes clear that the head concentrates upon an aspect of the bureaucratic hierarchy as a means of isolating him/her self from this problem. For the Trade Union the case also brings its own difficulties, apart from stating arguments supportive of the member's interpretation of professionalism, they can bring little force to bear upon the original departmental dispute. They, therefore, concentrate on establishing a 'safety net' in order to protect their member in case the headteacher should expand the dispute into a major disciplinary issue. In the following section I examine these various aspects of the case in greater detail.

#### Case Study II Extract A

##### Conversation between Assistant P.E. Teacher and Head of Department

"At the end of lesson 2, Q asked me what I thought of the suggestions made by a group of children for a 3rd Year -v- 4th Year Hockey match after school which she, Q, would supervise. Having been asked my opinion, I replied that I did not, in present circumstances, agree with hockey going on after school as it was an activity from which I had withdrawn and one which she had previously said she would not run."

At this point children came into the office and Q wrote down their names for the hockey match. I remained quiet until the pupils had left and the conversation could continue. By now Q had said "yes" to the pupils and had begun to arrange the fixture.

The conversation continued: Q said that if I did not do hockey and the match didn't go ahead then the children would have no opportunity to play hockey. I said that we had agreed previously that no hockey would be played outside the normal school day. Q then said did I mean that we should not teach hockey during lesson time. I answered 'No' - she had taken my statement wrongly.

Q said I was picking and choosing what I could do and that I could run a skiing trip. I replied that the skiing trip, to be run at Xmas, had been arranged since last February and that financial commitments had been made before the industrial action had been intensified. I would go ahead with this trip but arrange no others. Q replied "Oh yes. Huh". She then said that extracurricular activities had been arranged at the end of last term and that I should keep to these arrangements.

Q said that she would check with her union (P.A.T.) as to whether she could run the match and if agreeable the match would go ahead. I said that if this happened it would go back on the agreement we had made amicably 2 weeks previously viz., Q had agreed not to take over any activities from which I had withdrawn. She now said that she "would if she could" and "who are we here for - ourselves or the kids". I replied "both" - to teach the children but also to earn wages to live on".

She replied that she would see her union rep., I said that if the match went on "that's it" - meaning that the agreement we had previously no longer held."

I left the office at this point.

signed A

#### Case Study II Extract B

#### Conversation between A and Headteacher - Thursday XXXXXXXXXX

A, summoned to head's office by Deputy Head said he had asked to see me as he had had 'an unhappy Q come to him at lunch time about a disagreement over an out-of-school hockey match. I said it was true that there was a disagreement. He said "How dare I disagree with anything my H of D had said"! He said he had been a H of D and if a junior had dared to disagree with him he would have "torn a strip off them". I started to explain the previous conversation and agreement between myself and Q. The Head interrupted and said he had no intention of listening to this. He said I should never voice my union views. He repeated this and said I should never voice anything to do with unions to Q. I must have said some derogatory statements whereby Q felt harassed. He said that if I read the notice from the Governors I would see that they clearly stated that no-one should be harassed. He told me "that I was aggressive", even if I was not aware of it myself. He said "I am not very happy with your aggressiveness

lately", and "was the union my bible?" He went on to explain how union matters are resolved in his room through discussion and nobody should criticise anybody else for their union views. I said that Q and I had come to an agreement on this. He said that as she was my H of D she could change plans and arrangements and decisions as she wished and that when I said "discussed" I was implying that she was my equal. She is not and I may not criticise or disagree with anything she may decide. He said that some people like Q put children first and that where she felt there was a gap and a demand for an activity she could run a game. I added that nobody likes refusing a voluntary activity, but I am part of N.U.T. and its actions. He said I had opted out and left a gap which Q could fill if she so wished.

I asked "does this mean that Q can take over any of my activities?" He paused and then said "I suppose you will go to your union and tell them that". I repeated my question and he said "Yes". I said "O.K."

He returned to the point at issue again and said that no member of staff may criticise another - "did I ever hear him criticise the unions?" I said "alright, I accept what you say and will leave it like that then". He then raised his voice and stated to mimic me and said three times "We'll leave it like than then" in an odd voice. He said "that's what I don't like about you - you're so casual".

I said that he had taken my statement the wrong way and all I was saying was that "I accept what you have said - that Q, as H of D can do whatever activities she decided". By now the Head was clearly beginning to lose his temper. He said I could talk to xxxxx, my union rep. whom he had tried to find earlier. I was to tell the rep. that he could come and see the Head and that I should tell him that "I'm not very happy - the H M that is."

A

#### Case Study II Extract C

Conversation with H T and Union Representative re A  
Friday xxxxxxxx 198x 9.30 a.m.

The meeting took place in 4th Year Office at 9.30 a.m. The H M reported, calmly, the 'facts' as he saw the viz. Head of Girls' PE had complained, in writing, to H M that she felt harassed by A. The Head of P E, wished to organise a hockey tournament - usually the task of A. She, A, felt that this action could be interpreted as strike breaking.

The H M called in A to 'discuss' the matter and an

argument followed, ending in A leaving the room in tears  
(xxxxxx October p.m.)

The H M wished to establish the principle that all members of staff are free to act according to their conscience, within the bounds of contract. But he felt that the status of a H of D was being called into question.

I agreed with his statement in principle but asked him to appreciate that we are in an industrial dispute. Members are especially sensitive to non-union (P.A.T.) colleagues who are flaunting their immunity to action. I quoted the Governor's Resolution (and corrected H M as to it's interpretation!)

The H M was very angry when I tried to put A's side of events and issued several threats to bring in the D E O. I continued to try to negotiate calmly. H M sat down again and became more rational. He made statements of a personal nature regarding A's personality. I suggested that these were irrelevant and not my responsibility.

I explained that I would get a written statement from A. H M said he would consider matter closed if we agreed to the principle. I did not reply.

There were two further comments re staff cover and H M left room in hurry. 10.00 a.m.

School Representative.

#### Case Study II Extract D

#### NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS

Regional Office

#### Private and Confidential

A  
xxxxxxx  
xxxxxx  
xxxxx  
xxxxx

Dear A

Mr (local union officer) kindly sent on to me copies of the detailed account of your conversation with Q and your Headteacher.

I am sorry I have not been able to reply before now, but it would seem, from (the local union officer) that there are not likely to be any further developments. Nevertheless, I was not only appalled at the way in which Q went back on an earlier agreement with you, but the medieval attitude of your Headteacher in attempting to support the anti trade union activities of Q on the basis of Q's hierarchial position over you.

It seemed to me that you had displayed considerable sensitivity in dealing with Q and remained calm in what must have been an over emotive exchange, when clearly Q was seeking to undermine the sanctions that you had followed, on Union advice, despite you reaching an earlier accommodation with her. To have this position equally upheld on an emotive basis by the Head teacher with the clear intention of intimidating you to accepting the position is also untenable. I note, however, that you were equally able to control yourself despite the Headteacher's outburst.

I trust, therefore, that you will make it clear to both Q and the Headteacher that unless this matter is resolved on a basis that is acceptable to you, you will be considering most carefully whether to co-operate in future out of school activities at the cessation of the sanctions due to the current salary campaign. It may also be necessary to involve other NUT members in this matter and engage their continuation of the sanctions if normal working relationships cannot be restored. The problem remains, therefore, as to what is the most effective way of achieving normal working relationships with such prejudiced parties.

Perhaps, therefore, in the first instance, local union officers could accompany you to a meeting with the Headteacher, at which concern could be expressed with regard to the Headteacher's closing remarks, as they appear to have disciplinary connotations. This might provide the basis for then more fully acquainting the Headteacher with the sense of grievance you felt about Q going back on her word, in an attempt to persuade the Headteacher that those in positions of authority have responsibilities as well as in seeing that they exercise that responsibility fairly, rather than accepting the Headteacher's simplistic analysis that we have to automatically accept what somebody in a higher authority says. If this meeting does not sufficiently air these matters to your satisfaction, then I believe it may be necessary to take collective action in support of your position. For information, therefore, I am copying this letter.

Yours sincerely

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
Regional Officer

### Analysis of Case Study Data

In case study one I have attempted to show how a headteacher tried to initiate a change in the organisational practice of a school and how this attempt was perceived by the staff and various union officials. In the context of this thesis the important points being the ways in which strategic action (both actions initiated by the headteacher and those by the staff) were framed within the broad definition of accountability. Like the first, this second case study is also concerned with the strategic use of accountability but it contains significant differences of emphasis from the former. Here I have selected an incident where the dispute arises between two members of the same school department and was not initiated by or directed at the headteacher. When, as the case developed, the head teacher was involved in the dispute he/she, at least in part, had to adopt a judicial role while still having to maintain his/her own position in terms of authority and status. As I have indicated in the general preamble, outlining the documentary evidence presented in the case study, the original dispute is between a head of department - a member of P.A.T. (a non T.U.C. affiliated association) - and an assistant teacher

who was a member of a T.U.C. affiliated trade union. At the time of the incident the assistant teacher's union was involved in selective strike action and 'working to contract', as is usual in such disputes. The P.E. Department became an obvious target for criticism, especially from pupils and parents. This is normal for they are involved in a wide range of "highly visible" out-of-school activities. To avoid financial problems, if deposits have been paid before the beginning of any industrial action, out of school visits are honoured despite the staff working to contract, this practice had been observed by all teacher Trade Unions in the assistant teacher's school for a number of years. At the beginning of the period of industrial action, the head of department and the assistant teacher had made an amicable agreement that in order that the effects of the industrial action should not be diminished, the Head of Department would not take on the extra curricular games activities normally taken by the assistant teacher. This agreement broke down on the xxxth xxxx 198xx when the Head of Department decided to take over the assistant mistress's out of school hockey matches.

As in many of the other case examples the real cause of the problem lies within the domain of micro-politics and any subjective attempts at suggesting why the head of department and the assistant teacher chose the timing and context of the particular issues of the dispute is unprofitable. What is clear, however, are the stated



motives of the various parties. These are of relevance to this thesis in that they highlight two contrasting perspectives on professional commitment and related accountability. The head of department adopting what may be loosely described as an anti strike view of professionalism while the assistant showed a form of support based on collegiate unity through Trade Union membership and action. The head of department's professionalism, as stated, is dominated by an individual practitioner view of the needs of the client. Problems are seen as of an immediate nature and their solution dependent upon individual judgements. Such a viewpoint permits the use of a number of strategic possibilities especially when an action requires definition or justification the good of the client being used as an all embracing strategy under such conditions. From the perspective used by the assistant teacher the individual's personal interests are submerged and the group's collective view is placed to the fore, with solidarity rather than individualism becoming the main basis of strategy. As I have indicated in Chapter II of this thesis, the popular view of professional action tends strongly towards the individualistic approach rather than the collective. This, I suggest, does not give a balanced picture; I have argued that attempts to define professionalism by means of listed traits or similar relevant characteristics is unprofitable and that a more

satisfactory approach involves perceiving professionalism as a means of institutional control. By claiming professional status and having that claim accepted (not necessarily agreed with) by those bodies who control entry to the occupation, define standards of conduct etc the group achieves its own level of 'professional' legitimacy the collective voice being representative of the 'professional' group rather than a specific trade union. I argue, therefore, that both these claims for professionalism are legitimate, insofar as they represent the stated aims of particular groups. The arguments for and against the views promoted by these different perspectives, while of interest, are not immediately relevant to this discussion. A further point that needs to be referred to at this stage concerns the nature of the data used both in this case study and in others. The documents, especially items such as Case Study II item B are retrospective summaries of discussions and therefore inevitably contain a rationalised 'laundered' text that can only give one particular subjective recollection of events.

(This has proved to be a major problem in this form of analysis and will be examined at greater length in Appendix I).

In simple terms the dispute manifested itself at the public level as appearing to be between the views put forward by P.A.T. contrasted against those of a T.U.C. affiliated union. Apart from engendering sympathy

from like minded colleagues such a dispute was unlikely to generate much feeling within the school, however, by referring the matter to the head teacher the head of department turned an argument into a formal dispute. For the head teacher a 'dispute' such as this brings a range of special problems; because he or she has not been instrumental in initiating the problem they are not in the position to control the formulation of ground rules etc. By not having this initial involvement the head teacher was without the important advantage of strategic 'stage setting' etc. In the past, this head teacher had shown a degree of sympathy towards trade union action and had not exhibited any affinity to the aims and objectives of P.A.T. However, due to falling roll at the time of the case study, the school was facing, the strong possibility of closure and the head teacher was especially sensitive to public opinion and a possible hostile response from members of the Governors and General Public. A known factor in the arguments surrounding the proposed closure was a popular belief that the school was a 'hot bed' of union activity, this image being one that the headteacher was keen to dispel. This background detail is of value in assessing the subsequent actions of the head teacher.

The strategies used in dealing with the problem are illustrated in part in Case Study II Extract B, but the already mentioned proviso concerning the methods of obtaining the information needs to be borne in mind if a

very finely detailed interpretation is used. Despite these provisos a number of interesting points emerge. The assistant teacher felt it necessary to record, in the account of the incident, that she was taken to the headteacher by a deputy, this minor point being illustrative of how the 'strategy' of an interview can be used to strategic effect. Because of limitations resulting from the types of documentation available for analysis it is not possible to say whether this 'staging' is a result of a conscious strategy on the part of the headteacher or a chance act that has been interpreted in a specific way by the assistant teacher. During the interview the head teacher does not enter into the professional debate but emphasises the hierarchial position of the assistant teacher within the department. Here emphasis is on accountability to the structure rather than to an individual or an ethical principle. In promoting the bureaucratic hierarchy and its associated notions of accountability to those at the top of the hierarchy, the head teacher avoids the necessity of involving him/herself in the justification of personal opinion. In terms of the traditional understanding of leadership style the assistant teacher perceived the head to be taking an authoritarian stance. A characteristic of this 'ideal' type being the commitment to and defence of the status quo, by questioning the authority of her head of department, the assistant teacher disturbed the hierarchical arrangement

that formed an important part of the head teacher interpretation of the school organisational system. During the interview the head teacher (ref Case Study II Extract B) refers to his or her dislike of subordinates questioning Head of Department's decisions - being quoted as saying in reference to the assistant teacher ... "How dare I disagree with anything my Head of Department might say" ... and ... "When he/she has been a head of department if a junior had dared to disagree with him/her he/she would have torn a strip off them" ... All these are pointers to an authoritarian style but, importantly, are couched in terms of accountability to the bureaucratic system. The interview also provides certain other insights relevant to an analysis based upon this perspective. The head teacher's reference to the Governors' request that personal opinions should not lead to harassment during the period of the industrial dispute, although a minor point, is also an indication of how the head teacher is directing attention away from his own personal position towards another level within the bureaucratic hierarchy. In a similar way emphasis is placed upon the account of the way in which union matters are 'dealt with' by 'recognised officials' who 'deal' with 'management' in private sessions. Here the bureaucratic structure accepts collective bargaining but on its own institutional terms. Again when the assistant teacher claims to have reached, through discussion, an agreement with the head of department the

head teacher objects suggesting that such an agreement was not valid as it implied a parity between assistant and head of department, and that such an equality did not exist.

The concluding section of this extract outlines the apparent display of rage, reported by the assistant teacher. This adds little to the discussion other than the possibility that the display of anger may have been a strategic device - an indication that this final 'flurry' marked, symbolically, the conclusion of the interview. (Ref Christie R and Geis F 1970, "Studies in Machiavellianism") who describes the symbolic use of such actions.

Just as the head teacher was essential outside the dispute, so too were the Union officials, both the school representatives and those from Regional H.Q. and it is of note to see how many of the strategies adopted by the head teacher are repeated in the dealings of the union, examples coming from the meeting between the school's Union representative and the head teacher.

This began at a low key level with an exchange of descriptions of the offending incident with both parties attempting to distance themselves from the emotional aspects of the issue and therefore concentrate on the detached, impersonal working of the respective bureaucratic operations.

Support for the assumption that the head teacher was attempting to remove him/herself from the dispute, as

far as personal involvement was concerned, is again demonstrated by the way in which reference is made to the Divisional Education Officer as an arbitrator ie someone from a higher level within the hierarchical structure. A subjective interpretation may associate the displays of temper with the reluctance to become personally involved.

The final document that I have selected from this case study is in the form of a letter from the Regional Union Office to the assistant teacher. Firstly, and perhaps not surprisingly, it offers sympathy and support to a member who has followed union policy, by criticising the head teacher's actions as - "medieval" it indulges in the symbolic rhetoric that while of little practical value serves to 'please' the recipient. The suggestion that 'action' might continue in that particular school after the cessation of national and local action is a not unusual strategic response but except in incidents when there is a collective dispute it is rarely activated. Thirdly, and of most practical value to the assistant teacher, the Union recognised the possibility of a disciplinary proceeding - possibly a formal warning - although no suggestion of this had previously been made. Arrangements were, therefore, made for a meeting between the Union's Regional Officer and the Headmaster.

As indicated in the preamble to this case study this meeting did take place but, by this time, National

Industrial Action had ceased and both the head of department and assistant teacher were involving themselves in out of school activities. In addition, the assistant teacher had had a successful interview and was leaving at the end of term to take up employment in another school. These factors, plus the time lapse between the initial dispute and the meeting between the headteacher and union officials removed much of the impetus from the dispute, and an informal statement acceptable to both sides was agreed upon.

In this case study I have attempted to show how different definitions of accountability can be used strategically. Here the overall concept includes definition of accountability to clients, to a collective body and to an organisational structure. Each manifestation of this concept brings with it its own ideological basis and supporting rhetoric. What is unclear in this case study, and possibly because of the nature of micro political activity in all the other examples, is where the line occurs that separates an ideological base for a particular set of beliefs and, subsequent courses of action, and a retrospective interpretation based upon ideological premises. In this case study the original dispute between the two teachers appears, from the documentation to be based upon various interpretations of the meaning of professionalism. In reality however, actions may well have been motivated by feelings of self interest or a desire for promotion,



these stemming from the illegitimate domain of micro politics. Any attempt to impose a line of separation between ideological belief and retrospective justification would be highly subjective and in this case largely unprofitable.

I have in this case attempted to develop various examples of the use of accountability as a strategic device. Its scope being demonstrated by the range of professional interpretation as well as the contrasting use of a restrictive bureaucratic structure.

### CASE STUDY THREE

Preamble: An outline of the case, based on available data

This case study is based upon the various documents submitted as evidence at a formal Grievance Procedure Hearing. The Grievance Procedure was invoked by an assistant teacher (head of department) against the head teacher of a large urban comprehensive school. Mr K (the head of department) based his grievance around two main points. Firstly, he believed that the head teacher was attempting to change the status of Saturday morning and after school football fixtures from being voluntary - non contractual activities into 'duties' that were compulsory for games staff.

Secondly, that routine organisation and disciplinary details, appertaining to the sporting fixtures that Mr K did choose to involve himself with, were to be under his

jurisdiction and that his authority in dealing with these matters was to be confirmed.

In support of his grievance Mr K provided a detailed record of the relevant meetings between himself and the headteacher, these being illustrative of the development of the ill feeling that existed between the two teachers. (ref Case Study III Extracts B1 and B2).

In response to Mr K's claims, regarding the status of extra curricular activities, and his dissatisfaction with the way in which the head of department dealt with his department, the headteacher (Mr J) provided the Grievance Procedure hearing with his formal notice of response (ref Case Study Extract E). In this document Mr J made a number of important points. He states clearly that he believed Mr K's commitment to extra curricular activities, regardless of their contractual status, to be unacceptable and, incompatible with that of a head of department (P.E.). Mr J went on to extend this point by referring to what he believed to be the 'established' needs of the pupils and how these could not be met if extra curricular activities were to be designated voluntary. He emphasised that it was, in his belief, part of the P.E. department's responsibilities to both arrange and supervise the extra curricular programme of sporting activities and that in achieving this the head of department should take a positive lead. With regard to Mr K's allegations concerning supposed 'threats' to his career Mr J denied making any such

suggestions stating, that it had been his aim to persuade Mr K to take up his 'professional' duties.

With regard to the second point (that dealing with the scope of the head of department's responsibilities and authority in regard to every day administration discipline etc) Mr J accepted that under 'normal' conditions Mr K's claims were quite acceptable but that when the head of department was not committed to the 'good' running of the school the head had, as a duty, to pupils, parents and the L.E.A. to take what steps he considered necessary. Mr J quoted from the articles of government in support of this assertion.

Mr J denied that it had ever been his intention to undermine Mr K's standing with either the pupils or his colleagues. In concluding his response to the formal grievance Mr J highlighted three items that are considered as fundamental to the dispute. These being:

- 1) A clarification of the position regarding the question of extra-curricular activities.

- 2) A settlement regarding the operation of day to day organisational and disciplinary duties.

- 3) That Mr K was mistaken in alleging that Mr J was guilty of unprofessional conduct and had lacked sympathy in his dealings with his problems.

In respect of this latter point Mr J made a categorical denial that any of his actions had been, or could have been, interpreted as unprofessional.

In support of his response to the Formal Grievance Procedure Hearing Mr J followed Mr K's method of presentation and provided the hearing with an annotated diary of meetings held between Mr K and himself (ref Case Study III Extract D).

The chief points in this detailed response were:

- a) That Mr K's decision to 'opt' out of extra curricular activities (in order to obtain his Open University Degree) was not consistent with the responsibilities of a Head of Department.
  - b) That Mr J found Mr K's manner of speech abusive and antagonistic'.
  - c) That Mr J could not accept that extra curricular Physical Education could be construed as voluntary.
  - d) That because of his conduct Mr K would not be considered as a candidate for internal promotion or could be recommended if he sought promotion in another school.
  - e) That the assistant teacher in Mr K's department had expressed resentment at the situation that was forced upon him.
  - f) That the County P.,E. Advisor was a supporter of the headteacher's stance.
  - g) That he (Mr J) had asked Mr K for his resignation
- Mr J concluded by expressing his aim of attempting to 'stir' Mr K into conducting his department in a professional and enthusiastic manner. In response to the Grievance Procedure Mr J made the following points:

- i) That he could not accept the voluntary nature of extra curricular Physical Education
- ii) That he would allow Mr K to run his department when he was satisfied that he had his commitment and goodwill
- iii) That he was in no way guilty of unprofessional conduct
- iv) That Mr K should withdraw his allegations and the implications arising from them.

The outcome of the Grievance Procedure was threefold; with regard to the status of non-contractual duties the School Governors and Officers, representatives of the L.E.A. confirmed Mr K's right to withdraw from those activities that take place outside the working school day. This point was to some degree qualified by the way in which the hearing thanked Mr K for his past efforts and hoped that he would see his way clear to continue organising sporting activities both after school hours and on Saturday mornings.

Secondly the Governors and the L.E.A. Officers supported Mr K in his request that he be allowed, on a day to day basis, to organise and discipline pupils as he saw fit. In response to Mr J's assertion that the Grievance Procedure implied that he was guilty of unprofessional conduct the Governors and L.E.A. Officers assured the headteacher that no such implications had been recognised. Mr K's union advisors were also keen to point out that this had not been one of their aims when instituting the Grievance Procedure.

Documents included in this Case Study

- i) Extract A Formal Notice of Grievance
- ii) " B1 Summary of Interview submitted by  
Grievance Hearing
- iii) " B2 Details of Interview between Head  
of Department and headteacher
- iv) " C Headteacher's Formal Reply to  
Grievance Procedure
- v) " D Detailed Notes on Extract C

### Introduction

In the preamble to this case study I have summarised the evidence contained in the extract documents. I now wish to use this to provide further support for my contention that accountability exists both as a basis for much managerial action and also as a strategic means of justifying and rationalising such action. As with the first two case study examples the stated aims, motives and rationalisations appear to cover over a vast morass of micro-political activity that by its nature is almost impossible to penetrate or analyse. Despite these inherent problems the existence of the 'hazy' background to the events as documented needs to be at least appreciated if not fully analysed or understood. To assist with this I include at this stage a brief summary of some of the historical details concerning the school prior to the Grievance Procedure.

Up until the mid 70's the school was divided into two separate sections, a Boys' Secondary Modern and a Girls'

equivalent. Despite sharing the same entrance hall the schools had little contact with each other - both pupils and staff being discouraged from fraternising with each other. With the introduction of comprehensive education the schools were amalgamated, the head of the boys' school becoming the new headteacher, the head of the girls' school retiring. With the introduction of comprehensive education many new teachers joined the combined staff, especially in those areas where 'A' level teaching experience was needed. Many older teachers took the amalgamation as a signal for retirement, thus from reorganisation almost a new school staff came into being, only the Head and Deputy plus a relatively small number of existing staff remaining. The new 'combined' school, with over 1400 pupils becoming one of the largest secondary schools in the Authority. The school had a long tradition of being supportive of teacher trade unions, a former head teacher having been a senior national union official. During times of national dispute staff from the school were regularly called upon to take strike action, or other forms of industrial disruption. Two years after the amalgamation of the schools the head teacher retired and Mr J was appointed as the new head. His previous schools had either been in the private sector or traditional single sex Grammar Schools. These points being relevant in that the new headteacher was apparently unaware of many of the traditions and ways of the 'secondary modern'

school system and seemed to have little experience of dealing with less able pupils. A number of his early statements concerning contractual work and health and safety also gave the impression that he was unsure of the workings of teacher trade unions.

These factors rapidly led to a number of disputes. After only a few months in the school the headteacher attempted to remove the head of a major department and VI form from his/her post, this dispute leading to the first ever Grievance Procedure hearing in the Authority. The outcome of the grievance was the full support from the Governors etc for the senior teacher, the headteacher being unable to provide any serious criticism of either his/her professional work or personal behaviour. This blow to the headteacher's authority proved to be the beginning of a series of other disputes, initially involving mainly NAS/UWT members but soon spreading to N.U.T. and even A.M.M.A. staff.

The Grievance Procedure that forms the basis of this case study needs to be seen in the light of this background information.

In this case study I concentrate on the strategic arguments that the head of department used in support of the Formal Grievance Procedure and those that the headteacher used, in defence of his/her actions. As I indicate later in this analysis, and in the Appendix dealing with methodology, this emphasis on strategic



legitimising of actions, rather than an underlying motive is derived mainly from the nature of the case study data. Because with relevant documents etc represent carefully prepared reports, of specific events and the thought out rationalisation of these respective actions it is difficult to follow much of the underlying micro-political activity. Despite these methodological problems a number of conceptual areas closely linked to various notions of accountability are clearly evident. In response to the Grievance Procedure, and indeed in the dispute prior to the formal hearing, two aspects of accountability are fundamental to the problem. Firstly, there are the questions relating to the legal/contractual meaning of a teacher's duty and secondly those concerning the ethical/traditional interpretations of duty. Of special interest, especially in terms of the outcome of the Grievance Procedure Hearing are the restrictions placed upon the effective use of some of these concepts as strategies because of the format of the formal hearing. It would appear that those dealing with the Grievance Procedure were more impressed by a simplistic Legal interpretation, than by matters of belief and personal opinion.

In addition to the use of professional and contractual accountability there is some evidence that various aspects of bureaucratic control are also included in the case data. When the judgement of the headteacher is

brought into question by a subordinate member of the hierarchy the structure of the bureaucratic organisation becomes disturbed. This is especially problematic when the dispute involves personal recrimination and goes beyond an interpretation of unclear rules. It is of interest to note how this potentially dangerous questioning of the system is avoided by both the Trade Union officials, the L.E.A.'s and the Governors at the hearing. The headteacher's concern that he/she was being accused of acting in an unprofessional manner being 'toned' down by the other factions in the dispute.

I now turn to a more detailed analysis of the case material, seeking to expand on these various aspects of accountability.

This case study is unusual in that it is concerned with a formal Grievance Procedure, these being rare occurrences, most teachers going through their entire careers ignorant even of the existence of such a formal machinery. I include in Appendix II a full account of the technical processes involved in taking out a Grievance Procedure (ref Model Grievance Procedure: Collective Disputes Procedures contained in 'Conditions of Service for School Teachers in England and Wales' 1978) but for convenience highlight here certain key points:

a) Firstly if a grievance occurs between staff there should be an attempt to resolve the matter by direct approach

b) Meetings between the members of staff and the headteacher - or other parties - should be convened within 5 days of the request.

c) Consultations with representatives of professional associations, senior colleagues and officials of the L.E.A. should be made where appropriate.

d) When the matter has not been resolved by any of the above mentioned procedures the member of staff concerned should submit, in writing a formal notice of grievance to the parties concerned. The headteacher should then make a formal report to the Governors, Officers of the Local Education Authority and Officers of the Professional Associations,.

e) The Chief Education Officer, in consultation with the Governors etc., should seek to settle the matter.

If no settlement is forthcoming a meeting should be convened within 10 days and all relevant documents submitted and arrangements made for all the parties concerned to be represented by a 'friend' or official union representative.

These details show how there is an opportunity at each stage of the proceedings for a negotiated settlement to be reached; for the 'machinery' to be allowed to carry on until the final stage indicates a considerable commitment on the part of both the aggrieved parties, their professional advisors and, to a certain extent, the involved officers of the L.E.A. and the school Governors. As indicated the disputes that led to this

Grievance Procedure had a long and very bitter history but in the first extract (ref Case Study III Extract A) the head of department's main points of grievance are set out.

Case Study III Extract A

FORMAL NOTICE OF GRIEVANCE

I wish to invoke the grievance procedure in respect of my relationship with the Headteacher of the xxxxxxxx school. I believe this to have deteriorated to the point at which it is hindering me in conducting voluntary extra curricular activities.

During eleven years of teaching, teams coached by myself have regularly achieved high standards of performance in respect of both district and county competitions, (including county football champions on three occasions), and in only one season have one or more teams failed to win a major trophy. My cross country teams have managed similar achievements, and individuals whose careers I have fostered have subsequently turned professional (football), have represented England (Athletics and table tennis) and have been selected for county teams in a number of activities.

At the same time, and despite a very heavy involvement with large numbers of youngsters, I have only on one occasion found it necessary to send a member of one of my teams off the field of play, even though I insist on very high standards of sportsmanship.

My interview with the Headmaster following the fixtures of Saturday 1st March, has brought to a head a situation that has been developing for well over two years. There are matters which concern me:-

- 1) repeated pressure from the Headteacher, in his attempt to undermine the voluntary basis on which Saturday fixtures are conducted, has given rise to personal insecurity. I find it very difficult to give of my best when the Head has placed a shadow over my career.
- 2) I believe that unnecessary difficulties have been created with regard to my organisation of weekend matches, and that my working relationships with both colleagues and students have been undermined.

My object in invoking grievance is to establish a clear understanding that fixtures I choose to organise outside of the normal school working day are entirely voluntary in respect of my own commitment, and that it is unreasonable not to allow me authority commensurate with my status as Head of Department in respect of routine decisions regarding details of organisation and the standards I require of the pupils in my charge.

#### VOLUNTARY NATURE OF EXTRA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

I wish to draw the attention of the Governors and the L.E.A. to the following, to illustrate what I believe to be harassment on behalf of the Headteacher in attempting to persuade me to accept an obligation to undertake extra curricular activities. The obligatory nature of such activities being contrary to advice received both from my professional association and the County Physical Education Advisor.

Before attempting any detailed analysis of the strategies employed it is important to clarify one issue that is partly brought about by the methodology employed in this thesis, and is, more importantly a characteristic of organisational politics. In examining the data, as presented there is a natural tendency towards subjective judgements, this being especially so when seeking to explain various actions. Even with a much more complete collection of case notes, interviews etc, it would be impossible to accurately designate motives, to avoid this temptation, I therefore seek in this section, to concentrate on observations appertaining to the strategic devices employed. I have touched on this problem both in the introduction to this chapter and in Appendix II but, because of the nature of this case study I feel that it is worthwhile emphasising the point.

In his submission to the Grievance Procedure hearing the head of department maintained that two main areas were of concern to him, these being:

i) "Repeated pressure from the headteacher in his attempt to undermine the voluntary basis on which Saturday Fixtures are conducted, has given rise to permanent insecurity. I find it difficult to give of my best when the headteacher has placed a shadow over my career."

ii) "I believe the unnecessary difficulties have been created with regard to my organisation of weekend matches and that my working relationships with both colleagues and students have been undermined."

In invoking this grievance procedure, the head of department sought to establish a clear understanding that those games fixtures he chose to organise, outside of the school's working day, should be entirely voluntary, and that it was unreasonable not to allow him authority, commensurate with his status as Head of Department, in respect of routine decisions such as details of organisation and the standards of behaviour he expected from the pupils in his charge. The head of department accepted fully the overall authority of the head teacher but asked the Governors at the Grievance hearing to confirm the voluntary nature of out of school activities and that threats regarding his future employment should cease. In addition the head of department asked that the head teacher should accept the

professional judgement of the Head of Department on technical matters relating to games fixtures etc.

The head of department went on to explain in detail, using a diary format, how he felt the various meetings with the head teacher provided supporting evidence for his grievance.

To a large extent (excepting for matters of detail and more importantly interpretation) the head teacher accepted the detailed submission (ref Case Study III Extracts B1 and B2).

#### Case Study III Extract B1

##### Summary of interview/incidents submitted to Grievance Hearing

###### A. 1st April 19xx

In April 19xx I informed the head that I considered it essential to improve my professional potential and qualifications. To this end, I had commenced an Open University Degree course and was finding the work very time consuming. This might necessitate my non-involvement in Saturday refereeing for one year in order to allow more opportunity for study. Mr J asked me to reconsider my decision and we left the matter open.

###### B.i September 19xx

I confirmed my intention to concentrate on study over the next year, and Mr J's reaction was to inform me that I was "obliged, if not by contract to take out-of-school activities".

###### B.ii September 19xx

Mr J summoned me to his office to discuss my decision again and shocked me greatly by making suggestions about the possibility of my resigning.

C. February 19xx

Since the preceding September, I had not been refereeing on Saturday mornings, though I had been dealing with the administration of fixtures and had continued responsibility for the structure within which my two junior colleagues supervised the football teams.

During this period I had slipped a disc and although this had not caused me to miss any time off school, the condition had not at that time responded to treatment, and my future capability for sport was not clear (I have since made a full recovery).

Against this background of my temporary incapacity, the Head asked me when I would be prepared to commit myself to Saturday refereeing. Notwithstanding the fact that the year I had set aside for study had not expired, I explained that I could not make a definite decision until I knew the true extent of my back injury. When the Head asked me about the position as from September 19xx, I replied that again I could not make a commitment whilst I was in poor health.

D. May 22nd 19xx

The Head again interviewed me regarding football fixtures for September 19xx. I informed him that any commitment would depend on advice to be given by a specialist in July. (In the event, I was fully recovered and accordingly and voluntarily, resumed refereeing on Saturday mornings at the commencement of the new season September 19xx). The Head suggested that in these circumstances the propriety of my exercising authority over a recently interviewed colleague was in question. He wished to ask the candidates, during interview, to commit themselves to "voluntary" activities. He maintained that my refusal to give this same commitment undermined his policy.

E. October 1st 19xx

Having voluntarily resumed refereeing Saturday games for the whole of the previous season and during September 19xx, I decided to give up refereeing for two weeks. Financial difficulties had made it necessary to undertake part-time work, to the detriment of my continuing Open University studies. I needed the next two weekends to revise for my impending final examinations. (Incidentally - I did not apply for leave of absence from school for this purpose as has been the



pattern for staff in similar situations.) Mr J stated that he considered my withdrawal from the two matches to be "unprofessional".

F. October 3rd 19xx

The Headmaster interviewed me about the decision I had conveyed to him two days previously. Mr J informed me that refereeing for Saturday fixtures was part of my salaried obligation. He reiterated that non-participation was unprofessional, stated that my action would impede my promotion, and that any commitments I had outside of school must only be considered as secondary. The Head concluded by asking me to reconsider.

G. October 9th 19xx

I confirmed my need of the next two Saturdays for study. Mr J's reaction was to inform me that I was not fulfilling my contractual obligations.

H. October 8th and 10th 19xx

The Head interviewed me about my arrangements for the fixtures on the two Saturdays when I dealt with the match administration, but did not attend to referee. At the end of the second interview, he stated his intention of blocking my internal and external promotional prospects and said that once I could no longer cope with P E teaching, my only options would be teaching less able pupils or changing my profession.

At this point I gave very serious consideration to invoking the grievance procedure and only refrained from doing so because of my impending examination. I made formal approaches through my union to the appropriate county advisors. Mr xxx (County P E Advisor) and Mr xxx (Senior County Advisor) both visited me at school. Neither was critical of my part in anything that had occurred between the Head and myself, but both offered their assistance should I decide to take any future action to improve my professional situation.

I March 3rd 19xx

I informed the Head that as a disciplinary sanction, because of the behaviour and attitude of the fourth year team on the preceding Saturday (see below) I intended to suspend their remaining four fixtures this season.

Notwithstanding the fact that my reasons for suspending these fixtures were fundamentally different from my motivation on other occasions, and Head stated "if I

could not carry out my duties as Head of Department, which included Saturday morning football", he would "accept m resignation".

#### Case Study III Extract B2

Summary from Mr K's formal Notice of Grievance, detailing those areas where he considered the Head Master to be deliberately attempting to undermine his authority

##### A. September 7th 19xx

The Head interviewed me in his office and alleged that resentment concerning my decision not to participate in Saturday refereeing for one year (in order to concentrate on my studies), had been expressed by my second in department. I immediately consulted the teacher concerned, who emphatically denied this. I was very upset at what I interpret as an attempt by the Head to alienate me from my colleague, because of the previous success of our department had hinged on team work.

On the same Mr J threatened reference to the L.E.A. over the same matter. (When the County P E Advisor visited the school subsequently, he appeared most sympathetic and very supportive of my intention to improve my qualifications).

##### B. October 6th 19xx

Fixtures had been arranged with the xxx High School, xxxx. For reasons which have never been made clear to me, Mr J telephoned the Head of xxxx School concerning my arrangements. As a result, the xxx School cancelled the matches. I was subsequently informed by the P E teacher from the xxx, that he had written to Mr xxx regarding this matter. Mr J has never informed me of this correspondence. In my experience, this interference by a Headmaster in the organisation of fixtures is unprecedented. I recently met the teacher from the above school at a course, he claimed to be very puzzled by what has happened.

##### C. November 10th 19xx

At the request of xxxx School, I agreed to a home fixture being played on their pitches. Despite the fact that I had dictated a note concerning this to his secretary, which she had left on his desk, Mr J reprimanded me for not informing him of the change of venue. He also criticised me for allegedly cancelling

two of the games. One of these had been cancelled because my colleague was unfit, and the other at the request of xxxxxxxx.

I had not been available to referee this particular game, but had arranged three matches against the xxxx School. Our opponents had readily agreed to providing two referees whilst my second in department was quite happy to be responsible for the third match. Despite the fact that I had informed Mr xxx, that I should not be present, and explained the reason for this, he saw fit to question my colleagues about my absence and express to him criticism of me as Head of Department. Once again I consider this to be most unprofessional and prejudicial to the excellent working relationship which I enjoy with the teacher concerned.

D. February 7th 19xx

As happens every winter, a number of games have been cancelled over the Christmas period, due to the weather conditions. Mr J summoned me to his office and criticised my failure to organise games, alleging that pupils had made direct representations to him, suggesting that I had terminated the season's programme.

I had in fact been questioned by him from time to time about impending fixtures and had on these occasions made him aware of the reasons for cancellations (water-logged pitches, frozen pitches, and transport difficulties experienced by opponents). I am sure he had sufficient knowledge of the circumstances to explain this to the pupils concerned, instead of using representations to him as a pretext for subjecting me to further criticism.

E. March 3rd 19xx

Following the fixture of the 1st March, Mr J called me to his office and expressed criticism of the degree of enthusiasm which my team members put into cheering their opponents at the end of the game. At the same time, I reported to him my decision to suspend the fourth year team fixtures due to the failure of four team members to turn up. I also asked him to deal with a pupil who was not involved in the game, but who had been present and extremely rude to the master from the visiting school. The Head has taken no action with regard to this latter incident, and, instead of supporting me in my attempts to induce greater team responsibility in respect of the sanction I have imposed, he stated that if I could not carry out my duties as Head of Department, which included Saturday morning football, he would "accept my resignation". This double standard has finally convinced me that the Head's real concern is to exploit any pretext for harassing me, and it is this realisation

that has caused me to invoke the grievance procedure.

F. March 10th 19xx

It was reported to me that the Headmaster had asked the 4th Year Master why there had been no fixture for that team on the previous Saturday. Since I had discussed this with the Head on xxx (and informed him of my reasons for cancelling the match), and since also the 4th Year Master has no responsibility or involvement in the organisation of games, I can only conclude that the raising of this matter with him is just another example of an attempt to undermine my relationships with my colleagues.

In response the headteacher made it clear that he also had 'opinions' as to the contractual/non contractual nature of out of school games activities and that he was able to justify his critical approach to the head of department on a number of grounds. The head teacher also made the claim that my bringing the Grievance Procedure the head of department was suggesting that he, the headteacher, was guilty of unprofessional conduct - a suggestion that he refuted.

The first of the key issues, that concerning the contractual/non-contractual nature of out of school games, was interpreted, by the head teacher, as a legal break of contract. Here he suggested that the head of department was legally accountable for not fulfilling his duties as laid down by the contract of teacher employment. Reference to this being made during various discussions with the head of department' school union representative and in Case Study extracts B1 item G. Here it is recorded that the head teacher informed the head of department ... "that he was not fulfilling his contractual obligation...". This strategy could not be

maintained, for there was no clear legal definition of contractual duty that could be used to support the head teacher's case, indeed a straight forward reading of the relevant documents would strongly suggest that the head of department had no such duty to work on Saturday mornings as far as the law was concerned. In response to this the head teacher who, for whatever motive, clearly felt strongly about the case, switched the call to account away from a narrow legal definition to the broader based demands of duty and tradition. This strategic switch from one strategic device to another and from one mode of accountability to another is significant in that it is illustrative of how easily such 'moves' can be made. This change also serves to demonstrate the potential complexity of some of these strategic switches. The move is not simple from one alternative to another but involves the mixing and overlaying of various separate conceptual elements. I have already made a brief allusion to this in the section of Chapter 2 that deals with the way in which professional accountability can be used as an agent for re-stating other ideological or theoretical models. Another relevant factor in this change from the legalistic and contractual to the traditional and ethical is characterised by the careful use of rhetoric. Significant, here, is the use of the word 'duty' for the term is common to both conceptual areas. In terms of law it brings with it moral connotations of ethical

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responsibility, and in terms of personal opinion and belief it carries additional neo-contractural overtones. As symbols this use of language has considerable strategic value.

In response to the head of department's Formal Notice of Grievance the head teacher provided his/her own detailed report.

### Case Study III Extract C

- (1) Mr J's reply to the formal notice of grievance
- (2) Detailed comments on the formal notice of grievance (Mr J's response to Mr K's case (included in Extract 3)

#### Reply to Formal Notice of Grievance

I wish to reply to the formal notice of grievance presented to me by Mr K, Head of Boys' Physical Education department at the xxxxx School.

By way of introduction I would like to draw attention to the opening paragraph of the formal notice of grievance. In this Mr K alleges that his relationship with me has 'deteriorated to the point at which it is hindering me in conducting voluntary extra-curricular activities'. Mr K's phrasing could lead the reader to a misinterpretation of the main issue. My dispute with Mr K centres on what I consider to have been his lack of commitment to extra-curricular activities (voluntary or otherwise) over a period of some two and a half years to a degree that I believe to be unacceptable for a teacher in his position.

.....  
In the last section of his document Mr K indicates his wish for a settlement in accordance with two principles:

1. While accepting the Headteacher's overall authority in running the school he wishes 'to establish an acceptance ... of the voluntary nature of out-of-school activities and consequently the withdrawal of his threats regarding my future a a cessation of his attempts to pressure me into resigning'.

In answer to Mr K's point concerning extra-curricular activities, I wish to state that I believe that the responsibilities of the post of Head of Boys' Physical Education department cannot be clinically limited in way that designates all extra-curricular activities as 'voluntary'. If a school is to carry out its full responsibility in meeting the established educational needs of pupils, I believe that its Physical Education department must accept responsibilities in two clearly defined areas:

- a) the curricular education of pupils in Physical Education, ie through Gymnastics and organised sport.
- b) the extra-curricular activities of those pupils whose special talents lie in a range of sporting activity.

If b) is accepted, then it seems to me to be incontrovertible that it is part of the Physical Education department's responsibilities to arrange and supervise closely this extra-curricular programme and also to hold sessions of coaching and practice to enable teams and individuals representing a school to perform at the highest level of competence of which they are capable. It follows from this that a Head of Department has a particular responsibility in giving a proper lead in such matters, moreover, I have been informed by the Education Department of the County Council of xxx that they consider it reasonable for a headteacher to expect the Head of a Boys' Physical Education department to supervise personally (as referee or umpire) weekend fixtures, and to conduct extra-curricular sessions of coaching and practice.

In reply to Mr K's latter point concerning alleged 'threats' regarding my future' and 'attempts to pressure me into resigning', I deny that I have uttered specific threats or that I have used such 'pressure'. My aim at all times has been to try to persuade Mr K to fulfil what I regard as his professional obligations and his duties to children in an acceptable manner. it is true that in the course of this unsuccessful persuasion I have made some statements that have not constituted the most constructive of approaches to the settlement of our differences on this matter; nevertheless, I am very willing to give detailed accounts of the circumstances and the provocation that have induced me to speak to Mr K as I did.

2. In reply to Mr K's second request for 'an acceptance ... that it is perfectly reasonable for me to expect to be responsible for routine decisions regarding the necessity of cancelling games, arranging for referees, fixing of venues and day-to-day discipline', I wish to



point out that such delegations to a Head of Department has always been my aim and that it has always been my practice where I am convinced that the Head of Department in question has both the necessary degree of commitment to his responsibilities and the desired goodwill in assisting the Headteacher in the running of the school. Where these are lacking, however, I contend that it is the Head's duty to pupils, to parents and to the L.E.A. to take whatever steps he considers necessary to obtain acceptable educational standards. The position taken in the Articles of Government is quite clear and properly has the force of law:

9. Organisation and Curriculum

- a) Subject to the provision of these Articles and the regulations and directions of the Local Education Authority, the Headteacher shall be responsible to the Governors for the general directions of the Conduct and curriculum of the school.
- b) Subject to the provisions of these Articles of Government the Headteacher shall control the internal organisation, management and discipline of the school, shall exercise supervision over the teaching staff ...."

Furthermore, since Mr K's attempts to prove that I have been guilty of improper conduct in these matters in that section of the formal notice of grievance headed 'Undermining of Relationships', I affirm categorically it had never been my intention to undermine Mr K's standing either with pupils or with his colleagues; any actions that he had interpreted in this light have been taken by me only because I have been reluctantly driven to the view that Mr K's attitude to and conduct of extra-curricular matters have been both unsatisfactory and unfair to pupils and colleagues alike.

In the course of attempting to prove the validity of his grievance, Mr K has produced dated and detailed versions of many conversations that have taken place between us over a long period of time. Since it is not my practice to keep a diary of conversations that I hold with my colleagues, I would not wish to dispute the dates on which many of the meetings are said to have occurred. More importantly, however, his version of what has transpired can be seen to have three apparent aims:

- 1) to seek a settlement concerning his conduct of extra-curricular activities
- 2) to seek a settlement concerning his conduct of department affairs

- 3) to prove that I have been guilty of unprofessional conduct in my relationship with Mr K and that I have also been guilty of insensitivity or worse in my attitude to Mr K's problems.

In connection with this third aim, I state categorically that the formal notice of grievance contains distortions of fact and misrepresentations of events and conversations; it also omits important, relevant material. This aspect of his formal grievance is most strenuously challenged and I must therefore make it clear that I seek withdrawal of certain allegations that Mr K has made concerning my motives and conduct in dealing with him.

#### Case Study III Extract D

##### Detailed Comments on the Formal Notice of Grievance

I wish to make the following detailed comments on Mr K's version of conversations that have taken place between us and of events that have transpired since April 19xx. In the process I shall indicate distortions of fact, misrepresentations of events and conversations together with the omission of important and relevant material in his formal notice of grievance; consequently I shall require the withdrawal of Mr K's allegations concerning my motives and conduct in dealing with him.

For the sake of clarity I shall follow the same format and sequence of Mr K's formal notice of grievance.

##### Voluntary nature of extra-curricular activities

April 19xx What Mr K states is basically true but I wish to point out that I have never shown any opposition to Mr K's desire to obtain a degree in order to prepare for his future. I expressed support for his plan and offered to help in ways that I could. But I felt - and still feel - that his proposal to (opt out) of extra-curricular activities for a whole year was not consistent with his responsibilities as Head of a P E Department. What he has also omitted is that our conversation ended with Mr K's agreement that his withdrawal from extra-curricular activities would cause serious problems in the school and in the department and there was a consequent implication that Mr K might well change his mind.

The gap to 1st September 19xx, also indicates that Mr K made no attempt during the remainder of this term to inform me of the progress of his thinking. The combined tenor of our earlier conversations and his failure to see me before the end of term convinced me that he would be coaching and refereeing extra-curricular activities from September, it never occurred to me that he would allow term to end without seeing me if it were his intention to withdraw from extra-curricular work. My own attentions at this time were totally absorbed by a crisis brought on by the illness of the Deputy Headmaster responsible for the construction of the timetable.

31st August 19xx At the conclusion of the staff meeting that I always hold on the day prior to a new academic year, Mr K asked the staff generally for volunteers to referee soccer matches on Saturdays. I supported his requests as a matter of principle, never imagining, since he had said nothing to me on this matter since 7th April, that his aim was to find a substitute for himself. It was only after the meeting that another member of staff informs me that he had 'heard' that Mr K would not be taking extra-curricular matches on Saturdays.

1st-6th September 19xx Mr K is possibly correct in what he says though I do not recall talking of his resignation at this stage. It appeared to me inexplicable that a Head of Boys' Physical Education department could take this decision or take it without first attending to the established educational needs of the children; I admit to being angry that Mr K had not kept me informed of his decision-making process. I must also add at this stage that I have normally found Mr K's manner of speech abrasive and antagonistic to the point of rudeness; consequently it has never been easy to conduct a calm or reasoned conversation with him.

6th February 19xx As Mr K indicates, all refereeing throughout the one and a half terms since September 19xx had been in the hands of other members of the departments; nevertheless, it should be noted that throughout this time I did not attempt to make Mr K change his mind concerning extra-curricular activities. And, despite his clear suggestions to the contrary, I was far from indifferent to Mr K's back trouble; he fails to state that very many occasions during this period when I enquired after the progress of his injury, expressing hope for recovery. Nevertheless, since the football season was drawing towards a close I wished to form some idea of the probable future pattern of extra-

curricular activities in the Physical Education department and it is for this reason only that I asked him about the future.

22nd May 19xx Mr K relates in very bare fashion a conversation that was in fact much more complicated. It is true that the appointment of a Boys' Physical Education teacher had to be made; it is equally true and, I contend, natural that I expected the successful applicant to undertake extra-curricular activities. In the circumstances it was equally natural for me to hope that in future Mr K could exercise the kind of leadership, provided that his medical condition allowed it, that his professional position called for. (It will be clear from my official reply to Mr K's formal notice of grievance that I cannot accept that extra-curricular activities by members of a School's Physical Education department are voluntary in the sense that Mr K wishes me to accept.)

April 19xx - 22nd May 19xx Mr K omits to mention a number of matters that are necessary to a full appreciation of the situation throughout this period.

1. Mr K had also given as a reason for not taking extra-curricular activities during this time the fact that he wished to see more of his family and that he did not wish his children to grow up without him being with them. I sympathised with these feelings as it is a natural one, but men in other walks of life were in this identical position but they did not allow this to prevent them from fulfilling their professional responsibilities.
2. On other occasions Mr K argued that he did not earn sufficient money to enable his family to live in the style which he felt appropriate and that extra time was needed by him for extra earnings.

(I had, therefore, up to May 19xx, at times separately and at time simultaneously, been given four separate reasons for Mr K's not carrying out extra-curricular activities.) Although I have always been very willing to appreciate Mr K's problems, this shifting ground and the manner of Mr K's contact with me reluctantly forced me to wonder about the extend of his goodwill and commitment.

1st October 19xx Mr K is in error in saying that he proposed to withdraw from refereeing for two weeks. In fact he stated his intention of withdrawing for a minimum of four weeks and then proceeded to say that this was to enable him to recover the loss in salary of which he had been deprived by the L.E.A. following the

N.A.S. 'five-hour day' action the previous spring. That Mr K should take this step for this reason dismayed me.

3rd October 19xx To comment more precisely on Mr K's phrase 'impede my promotion', I recollect asking him how he thought I could support his application for another post later if this were an example of his professional attitude. I believe this to have been a perfectly fair question and a natural reaction on my part in the circumstances.

4th October 19xx This is probably correct except that the period in question was, as I have said, longer.

8th - 10th October 19xx It is quite untrue that I stated my intention of categorically blocking Mr K's promotion. Certainly he can have been left in no doubt that I would not at that time be considering him for promotion internally; in view of my frequently stated disapproval of his conduct of his responsibilities, any other conclusion would have been astonishing. I once again asked him how he could expect me to support external applications in the circumstances; I also recollect reminding him that at present his only other professional contributions lay in teaching the basic subjects in the practical (remedial) department.

Following these conversations, I received a visit from the school's N.A.S. representative. This was at Mr K's request and I repeated to him the gist of what I have said above.

Throughout this time I had been in touch with the school's general advisor and the county P E advisor. Certainly the opinions that they expressed to me about the extra-curricular situation in the Boys Physical Education department do not match the attitude that Mr K attributes to them; on more than one occasion the Adviser in particular, told me that he thought Mr K's attitude to extra-curricular activities was unreasonable.

3rd March 19xx Mr K's account of this incident is also closely linked to the second part of his grievance and, to avoid repetition, I shall correct the record at the end.

April 19xx - March 19xx Mr K fails to mention other matters connected with the refereeing of fixtures during this time.

1. A parent, qualified to referee football matches, offered his services to me on several occasions, expressing a willingness to referee every Saturday if necessary. My request to Mr K

that this gentleman's services be accepted was constantly countered by his argument that this was not acceptable to the Schools' Sports Council and no action was taken by him. Finally, in frustration, I rang the parent myself and he agreed very willingly to referee on the following Saturday. A day or so afterwards Mr K informed me that the fixtures for that Saturday had been cancelled.

2. On more than one occasion I have offered my own services as a referee; although I am not a qualified referee, I have a fair knowledge of the game and thought that my refereeing would be preferable to the cancellation of games. On no occasion has Mr K shown the slightest interest in my offer. Where referees from other schools have not been forthcoming and where we have not been able to provide referees from members of our own staff, home games have been cancelled and pupils consequently deprived of matches. Practices and coaching sessions have also been very inadequate and for some periods of time, with some teams particularly recently, non-existent.

From the above it will, I trust, be obvious why I have found relationships with Mr K extremely difficult. I accept that Mr K has had problems and I was from the first sympathetic and ready to try to reach a sensible understanding. However, his attitude to what I regard as his professional responsibility has in my view been quite inadequate and pupils have been unjustifiably deprived of sport as a result of this. Furthermore, his belligerent, often offensive manner has made any constructive discussion or attempts to settle the problem amicably quite impossible.

#### Undermining of Relationships

7th September 19xx There is no doubt at all that at some point the second in department expressed resentment to me at the situation in which he found himself. (My impression is that it was rather later than the stated date.) He went as far as to imply that he could not continue to referee indefinitely on Saturday mornings in these circumstances. It is greatly to his credit that he continued to do so and he has since then become the Head of his own Physical Education department at another school.

I have also pointed out that the county P E Advisers' attitude to me differed greatly from that which Mr K alleges was shown to him.

6th October 19xx This is a thoroughly misleading account of the case. It is true that, following Mr K informing me that matches for the next Saturday had been cancelled, I rang the Head of the xxxx School. I wished to discover the reason for the cancellation. (By this time the cancellation of fixtures was happening somewhat frequently.) I do not remember the content of my conversation with the headteacher, but I do recall clearly a telephone call to me from the Head of the Physical Education department and I understood from him that he had been informed by Mr K that the xxxxx School would have to provide at least one referee, possibly more, for the matches at xxxx because of Mr K's reaction to the L.E.A. salary deduction. Not unreasonably he declined to provide the necessary cover in these circumstances and as a result the matches were cancelled; the Head of Physical Education at the xxxx was rightly upset and annoyed at the situation and Mr K's comments certainly do not square with the realities. I accept fully that I interfered with the affairs of the Physical Education department in this instance and I believe that I was absolutely right to do so. There have been far too many instances over recent seasons of fixtures either being cancelled or being refereed by visiting members of staff. This is a situation that I have found thoroughly distasteful, as Headmaster and as spectator.

10th November 19xx I have no recollection of this precise incident but it is possibly true.

17th November 19xx I remember expressing sorrow that the Head of Department was not present but I certainly did not question the member of staff about Mr K's absence since, as Mr K states, he had informed me of it. Possibly I should not have spoken as I did, but the pattern of a too-frequently absent Head of Department becomes very tiring, very annoying and very frustrating. I have no regrets about this incident whatsoever.

February 19xx I had assumed that fixtures were taking place during the first part of this term and was surprised and shocked when four members of the U15 XI (boys who knew me well since I had been their cricket coach the summer before) approached me, clearly upset, and asked me when they would be playing their next football match; they had not, they said, played that term. I was surprised, though I said nothing to him, at Mr K's explanation that weather conditions had caused the cancellation of matches; other teams had played some matches. But his statement that I criticised him on this occasion is quite inaccurate and I did not use the boys' 'representations as a pretext for subjecting me to further criticism', as I have stated in my formal reply, my sole aim has been the attempt to persuade Mr K to act in a proper manner as Head of department and to give a

fair deal to the pupils and members of his department alike.

I admit freely that during the Spring Term 19xx I made it my practice to ask Mr K what matches were taking place since I felt that the situation concerning fixtures had deteriorated to a point at which it was necessary for me to keep a detailed check week by week. (In retrospect I consider that I should have kept such a record a long time ago.)

3rd March 19xx Mr K's account of this incident and its sequel is inaccurate in fact and misleading in implication. After the fixture of 1st March I asked to see Mr K on the following Monday morning and I stated that I was ashamed at the total failure of our teams to give three cheers in reply to the opposition's courtesy at the end of the match. (I had spoken to Mr K about this matter during the previous seasons but this kind of grace and generosity has not been apparent in Mr K's style of management of his department's affairs.) I had also been ashamed at the clear contrast between the lack of pastoral care by Mr K towards his team and the supportive work towards his by the visiting coach. Mr K's response was to change the subject, to complain aggressively that a few 4th Year pupils had not turned up to play and to report one other pupil in particular; he proceeded to state that he intended to cancel the remaining fixtures for the Spring term. At this point I admit freely that I lost my temper and said that he had no right to do such a thing and that if he persisted I would be glad of his resignation. I also demanded that he supplied me with details of the individual's misconduct so that I could punish him/them since it is a strong matter of principle with me not to tolerate bad behaviour from pupils.

Having heard nothing on this matter from Mr K a few days later, I approached the Head of 4th Year and asked him to investigate the situation. He reported to me that the individual guilty of misbehaviour was a member of the 3rd form. I summoned the boy to my office and would have caned him for the bad behaviour he was guilty of; however, I discovered on enquiry that he had been punished by the 3rd Year Head and that he had also written a letter of apology to the visiting member of staff. Clearly, therefore, any further punishment by me at this stage would have been unjust and the boy received a strong verbal rebuke only. Mr K could clearly have discovered the facts of the case, had he bothered to investigate, had he obeyed my initial request for a detailed report on this misconduct, I would have carried out the punishment myself since I have never failed to support a member of staff in a disciplinary matter. Mr K's allegation about my failure to take disciplinary action is, therefore, quite wrong.



He is also totally wrong in stating that my real pretext was to harass him or to undermine his relationships with colleagues. It will be seen that my investigations were designed to uphold the discipline of the school and of his department.

Mr K remained obdurate in his refusal to allow the U15 XI to play further matches despite the continuing keenness of a large number of pupils. Consequently, they have become a disheartened group of boys and their enthusiasm has been eroded (in my view very unfairly) by lack of attention. The same is true to a lesser extent of the U16 XI, successful team though they have been throughout their school career; for them forthcoming examinations have clearly provided a greater focus of attention to minimise the effect of the lack of practice and coaching that they have suffered.

.....

I repeat that my aim has, at all times been to stir Mr K into conducting the affairs of his department in a fully professional, enthusiastic and acceptable manner, and in a way that meets the established education needs of children. By way of encouragement and assistance in this I have myself coached cricket and I have regularly supported sporting activities in the school. My efforts, however, have been met by opposition by Mr K and by an aggressive manner that I have found difficult at some times, intolerable at others. It is essential for the good of boys' physical education in this school that Mr K revises his approach to his responsibilities and recovers the enthusiasm that, presumably, he displayed at the time of his appointment.

Finally, I make the following statements in reply to his formal notice of grievance:

1. I cannot accept that the extra-curricular activities connected to a Physical Education department are voluntary in the sense that Mr K wishes me to accept.
2. I shall be very happy to allow Mr K to be responsible for the routine running of his department when I am satisfied of his commitment and the extent of his goodwill in assisting me in the happy running of the school.
3. I rebut strenuously Mr K's attempts to prove that I have been guilty of unprofessional conduct in my relationship with him and that I have been insensitive or worse in my attitude to his problems.

On this latter point I demand the withdrawal of Mr K's allegations and implications.

From this certain important details emerge. Firstly in his assertion that the head of department had a duty to undertake extra curricular activity, the head provides two arguments in support of his opinion.

Firstly that the teacher had a duty to the clients (ref Case Study III Extract C) when the head teacher claimed that the head of department by not undertaking the activities ... "was not attending to the established needs of the children..." and again in extract C when the head said ... "I wish to state that I believe the responsibilities of the post of Head of Boys' PE cannot be clinically limited in a way that designates all extra curricular activity as voluntary"... (ref par. 4 Reply to Formal Grievance extract\_\_\_). Amplifying this by

stating that .... "if a school is to carry out its full responsibilities in meeting established needs of pupils, extra curricular activities for these pupils whose talents lie in a range of sporting activities is essential"...

As a strategic device such claims, based upon the traditional views of professional commitment to client needs prove to be an effective device but in this Grievance Procedure hearing they were ineffective. In normal use such vague terms as needs and duties can be subtly applied to cover a range of actions the success of the strategy depending, in part, on the lack of precision.

The failure of these strategies in this case however, may have resulted from the nature of the Grievance Procedure hearing. Here in a formal meeting the head of

department's future career prospects were being determined, the case, therefore, being far more serious than a general discussion of routine working conditions etc. If the Governors and L.E.A. Officers had fully supported the Headteacher then, the implication would have been that the headteacher was right in his/her call for the head of department's resignation. In dealing with a case that might indirectly lead to the dismissal, or constructive dismissal, of a member of staff the Governing body and the L.E.A. officials needed to go beyond such vague claims as might be made under the aegis of professional duty. It was necessary, therefore, for them to decide if the head of department was legally in his rights to refuse to undertake non-contractual duties irrespective of personal views regarding duty. It may be rather cynical or unduly subjective to suggest that the possibility of a national test case and, or industrial action may have reinforced the view that caution was needed in dealing with this potentially delicate Grievance. Under the law, as it existed at the time of the Grievance Procedure hearing, the facts were clear and teachers were under no legal/contractual obligation to work outside of the given school day. Therefore, regardless of any sympathy that the Governors or L.E.A. officials may have had for the headteacher or his opinions, it was unlikely that they would fully endorse them.

The second line of argument that the head teacher

employed to support his assertions was based upon the notion of traditional duty. Here the law is less explicit and he was on firmer strategic ground. Traditional duties may be defined as those actions that have become accepted practice over a number of years and within a number of similar institutions.

Teacher Trade Unions accept the importance of such traditional established activities, fighting against any undesirable changes in working practice that result from actions that have not be through the procedure of negotiation. Members being warned of the risks of establishing patterns of behaviour that, while voluntary, in the strict legal sense, become regarded as common practice. This issue is referred to in the

NAS/UWT School Reps. Handbook where it is stated..."none the less, voluntary tasks are by their very nature taken out of goodwill and should never be seen as an integral part of the job specifications or as a commitment in perpetuity. Thus it is as well to remind management, from time to time that certain tasks are indeed voluntary, and it is implied in the very nature of a voluntary trade that it may be relinquished at any time"... (ref NAS/UWT School Reps. Handbook 1986 Ed).

Again, in the normal 'arena' of school negotiation such strategic arguments can be powerfully employed, but in a Grievance Procedure the matter appeared to be held secondary to the straight forward legal contractual issue, already considered. While it would be unprofitable to enter into any wider subjective speculation concerning the Governors' motives in supporting the head of department it is worthwhile stating that the headteacher had 'lost' a Grievance

Procedure hearing approximately a year before this incident and that many of the Governors and L.E.A. Officials involved in the earlier hearing were present at this latter case.

The second area of dispute contained in the head of department's Grievance was based on his belief that the head teacher had made frequent attempts to change his approach to out of school activities and was also undermining his authority to carry out various aspects of departmental work to such an extent that he considered the headteacher guilty of harassment. This latter point being coupled with the threats made through the call for his resignation. Here the headteacher claimed that his actions were only motivated by a desire to see the school operate effectively and well, and that his own actions were a reflection of his own duty as outlined by the Articles of Government. This he emphasised at the conclusion of Case Study III Extract C where he stated that ... "my aim at all times has been to stir Mr K into conducting the affairs of his department in a fully professional, enthusiastic and acceptable manner and in a way that meets the established needs of the children"... The head teacher selected two quotes from the Articles of Government to support his actions.

1. 'That the head teacher shall be responsible to the Governors for the general direction and conduct of the curricular of the school.
2. That the head teacher shall control the internal

organisational management and discipline of the school, shall exercise supervision of the teaching staff.'

He claimed that as one who was accountable to the Governors and the L.E.A. he was placed in a hierarchical position that gave him the right to demand accountability from those beneath him. To a degree this assumption was valid, but it did not give him absolute authority. The bureaucratic structure is characterised by rules of conduct at all levels and these work in two ways, giving authority and restricting action.

Although only a subjective interpretation of the case notes the head teacher's claim that the head of department was accusing him/her of unprofessional conduct seems to represent a form of 'rearguard' action. In many ways the term unprofessional conduct is little more than a 'catch all' phrase used to encompass all those forms of behaviour that one, or both parties finds objectionable, yet is not covered by criminal/civil or contractual law. In this case the head of department was not accusing the head teacher of unprofessional conduct but, by implication, was suggesting this his strategies inclined towards it. Two particular examples are of special interest for they interlock with other aspects of professional accountability. By discussing certain details of the dispute with pupils, and the parents of pupils (ie members of the various teams and those parents wishing to referee matches), the head teacher was able to reinforce his claims appertaining to

client related needs and accountability to such. Here, however, the head teacher had a tight rope to negotiate, for while he needed the support of parents, and when appropriate pupils, he was open to accusations of unprofessional conduct if he appeared to crudely use these in any personal dispute with a member of staff. Secondly, a rather similar situation occurs when other staff were approached with a view to commenting on the worth of particular colleagues. Collegiate professionalism 'does not allow' this to occur officially and indeed the assistant Boys' P.E master vehemently denied any collusion with or sympathy for the head teacher. Documentary evidence of this was provided at the hearing expressing the master's support and loyalty to his head of department.

In the preamble at the beginning of this Case Study I have outlined the main outcomes of the Grievance Procedure and while not wishing to make any subjective judgements on the case, a number of relevant points can be made. As already noted it is unusual for a Grievance to reach the stage of a formal hearing and this coupled with the known historical background to the case makes the outcome less surprising. The clear support for the assistant teacher masks the complex mass of discussion, bargaining, as well as assumptions about character, suitability for the job etc that must have gone on at a micro political level prior to the hearing judgements. This again provides evidence illustrating how formal

documents are unreliable tools when seeking evidence of motives etc. I believe, however, that the case study does give a clear indication of how accountability can be adapted for a number of purposes. As a strategic device it can be re-defined at will only being restricted by the logic of the realities created around it. Thus, professionalism can be called upon as a supportive agent for the bureaucratic hierarchy and also seen as the antitheses to it. Many other factors lie behind this grievance. The definition of contractual working time and the parameters of head teacher responsibility representing only one facet of the problem. Here parallels can be drawn, with Case Study II where the 'public - official' dispute formed only a fragment of the whole. In this case, because the Grievance Procedure takes the form of an official dispute, invoked by an individual and concerned with specific issues there is some evidence to suggest (albeit circumstantial) that this particular 'fragment' of the larger issue was selected strategically in order to achieve identifiable ends. The tabulating of data, the strength of the head of department and the fundamental issues legal connotations pointing towards the choice of a specific 'area for combat', between the union and the headteacher. What is clear, however, is the way in which the format of the hearing encourages the use of



strategic interpretation, rationalising and justification - all areas where the use of accountability is well suited.

#### CASE STUDY IV

Preamble: An outline of the case based on available data

This case provides further insights into the ways in which accountability can be used as a strategic device. In some ways it differs markedly from the first three examples yet from another perspective a number of common themes can be identified. Unlike the other cases the dispute concerns a teacher being held to account on the grounds of poor teaching performance rather than on matters related to interpretation of duty or organisational procedure. The disputes occurred in a small rural Secondary School and involved an assistant teacher and the school's head. The assistant teacher believed that the head's actions amounted to harassment, the motive for this being the head's opposition to teacher Trade Union activity.

The claimed harassment took the form of personal criticism plus the bringing in of local inspectors/advisors to examine the teacher's classroom work. In response to these accusations, the head teacher asserted that his/her actions were a response to a weakness in the assistant teacher's classroom performance. The documentary evidence supporting these counter claims is based upon the assistant teacher's own

reports of the various incidents, the head teacher's letters and the reports of the local inspectors/advisors.

Extract A gives the assistant teacher's submission to the Union officials. This is a long and somewhat rambling document listing the various grievances as perceived by the assistant teacher. In essence these concern a number of areas.

Firstly the teacher attempted to show that the head had a fundamental objection to Trade Unions and, in support of this assertion gave details of a number of incidents that had occurred within the school. In particular he/she reported the way in which the head had treated the ill health of a former member of staff - who had been a local union secretary - in a manner that he/she believed lacked both sympathy and tact. In addition a number of other issues are raised, these being mainly concerned with differences of opinion associated with pupil disciplines etc. Although much of the evidence is highly subjective and anecdotal a number of significant inconsistencies in the head's treatment of union and non-union members of staff are highlighted. The document ends with the teacher giving evidence of his/her own success both as a history teacher and a music specialist.

Shortly after making his own submission to the union (ref Case Study IV Ref A) an official of that association visited the school to discuss the matter

with the headteacher (ref Case Study IV Extract 3). During this interview the headteacher made certain comments concerning the assistant teacher's classroom teaching. These being mainly concerned with the 'lack of sparkle' in the teacher's style, the repressive attitude towards discipline and the resultant reluctance of pupils to take up history as an examination option. The head teacher denied that his motives in criticising the assistant teacher were based upon anti union feelings. In the course of the discussion certain points, only briefly mentioned in the assistant teacher's original submission, were clarified.

These being:

- a) That the headteacher had requested the previous local union secretary's resignation after only three weeks sick absence from school
- b) That he had failed to notify Mr A (a union member) of his sick pay entitlement
- c) That he accepted that the assistant teacher had in no way allowed his union work to affect his teaching and that he had kept the union at a 'low profile' within the school.

The headteacher also admitted that he had provided the assistant teacher with a reference for another job and that this had been quite acceptable and contained no adverse criticism.

In conclusion the head teacher made two more points, critical of the assistant teacher's work. These concerned his frequent lateness and that his commitment to out of school 'private' music lessons seemed greater than his interest in school activities.

The headteacher stated that his request for a county History advisor to visit the school was made in the spirit of helping the assistant teacher and was not the beginning of any disciplinary proceeding against him.

Following the meeting between the union official and the headteacher a County Inspector visited the school, his report being contained in Case Study IV Extract E. The Inspector/Advisor (the name for such officials changing at around this time) made several relatively minor points of criticism concerning the assistant teacher's technique - use of maps, blackboard etc.

After a period of some three years the assistant teacher again approached the union for help and a Field Officer visited the school (no documentary evidence was available concerning affairs between the first adviser's visit and the second call for assistant).

After the Field Officer's visit the assistant teacher received a letter from the head teacher (ref Case Study IV Extract D). In this the headteacher expressed his dissatisfaction at the union officer being in school and that he was becoming increasingly concerned with the teacher's work. In response to this ... "and in view of

the teacher's initiative"... he was making a request for help from the advisory staff and if necessary a full enquiry by H.M.I's.

Union officers advised the teacher that he should not enter into any discussion with the headteacher unless a union officer be present. (ref Case Study IV Extract E).

A further visit was made to the school by a newly appointed county advisor (not an H.M.I.). Several observations were made (ref Case Study IV Extract F). Again some minor criticisms were levelled at the assistant teacher but more general points were made concerning the school's provision of equipment for the subject. It was also disclosed that some of the pupils who had failed the history examinations had not been timetabled for that subject and had been working for the examination in their 'own' time.

At the suggestion of the advisor the assistant teacher agreed to visit other local schools' history departments and also become involved in a local 13-16 Schools Council History Project.

Some time after the second adviser's visit the head teacher wrote to the assistant, again criticising his history work. (ref Case Study IV Extract G). On the advice of his union the assistant teacher replied to the letter stating that he was unwilling to make a full response until further advice could be obtained and asked that the headteacher to clarify certain specific

details referred to in the letter of complaint.

Shortly after this correspondence the assistant teacher was taken ill and, on the advice of his doctor resigned from his post at the school. After a period of convalescence he decided that it would be better for him to seek employment outside of teaching, his health problems resulting from occupational stress. If ill health had not brought the matter to a head it is likely that the union would have supported their member in a Grievance Procedure based upon a belief that the assistant teacher was being harassed because of union membership.

Documents included:

- A Background notes on Case submitted to Union  
by the assistant teacher
- B Report of Union Field Officer
- C Report by County Advisor (No 1)
- D Headteacher's Letter
- E Report by County Advisor (No 2)
- F Letter from Headteacher

## Introduction

As with the previous Case examples, this dispute provides illustrations of how accountability is used as a managerial strategy. Here an individual teacher is being held to account for the quality of work that his/her employer (or employees' agent) requires of him/her. The criticism involves aspects from all three of the conceptual areas that I identify in Chapter 2. In terms of lawful structures the head teacher acts as a member of a hierarchical/bureaucratic organisation calling a subordinate to account. This bureaucratic aspect is reinforced by the way in which the headteacher refers to higher level of authority (L.E.A. advisors etc) when seeking support for his/her claims. Financial accountability is also relevant to an understanding of the case for the teacher is criticised for the ways in which he/she carries out various occupational duties. In crude terms the 'piper' is not playing the tune that he/she has been paid to perform. Thirdly, professional accountability also plays a part in the case, insofar as one of the claimed features of professional work is the display of a high level of competence, this being questioned here. That such a wide range of the different forms of accountability can be identified in this case study is not surprising, for the question of occupational competence is fundamental to the overall notion of accountability. The key aspect of this case is, however, how the question of accountability is

interpreted by the various participants. In my analysis I try to avoid making judgements as to whether the head teacher was acting out of a concern for the standards of teaching in the school, or from some other alternative motive, nevertheless, a recognition of these differences is important.

### Analysis

As a result of his concern over the standard of history teaching in the school the head teacher took a number of steps to 'correct' the situation. In discussion with the assistant the head stated that in order to investigate the reasons behind the low number of pupils opting to take history, as an examination subject, he/she was instigating a visit from an H.M.I. (There appears here to be some confusion in the use of terms, both the head - or at least in the head's reported statements - and the assistant teacher mixing up H.M.I.'s and L.E.A. advisors.)

In due course the first visit took place - not by an H.M.I. but by the county's L.E.A. advisor. I include here the report of this visit.

### Case Study IV Extract C

#### Report on Mr L by County Advisor (Inspector) No 1

xnd May 19xx

#### Background

At the end of the Spring Term the headteacher, Mr O, asked me if I could go to see Mr L - the teacher in charge of History and Music.

Mr O said that he was not dissatisfied with the History results, but was unhappy that so few pupils elected to



continue with History beyond Year 3. Could I help to identify the reasons. Both he and Mr L would appreciate some help.

I arranged to visit the school on xnd May.

### Visit

On my arrival at the school early on the morning of xnd May Mr O told me that Mr L now felt that he was being 'got at' and that Mr O had in fact had a visit from Mr L's professional association representative, Mr xxx, Field Officer for the union.

I saw Mr L teach three History lessons and spent 35 minutes talking to him.

The lessons were:

3B on the Stuart/Hanoverian succession issue

1A on the Roman/Carthaginian disputes

2B on the background to the Joan of Arc trial

It is, of course, dangerous to make judgements or draw too many conclusions from three lessons and one conversation but the following are my impressions:

1. Mr L has what initially appears to be a lively and positive teaching style using oral exposition and questioning. Unfortunately these techniques appear to be over-dominant and to be unrelieved by variations e.g. use of TV, film strips, writing, map work.

I suspect that this could become very boring over a period of several terms. Certainly most of 2B appears lethargic and disinterested. Furthermore, my opinion is that Mr L's teaching style and methods do not appear to vary sufficiently according to the age or ability of his pupils.

2 Mr L uses a curriculum based upon historical progress from prehistory to the 1914/18 war covering five years of schooling.

This has much to recommend it but has two drawbacks:

(a) Pupils who elect to drop History at the end of Year 3 find their historical experience cut short.

(b) There is a tendency to do a very superficial coverage of everything with little detailed study.

3 There is little evidence of detailed and carefully prepared individual lesson preparation. Whilst Mr L has a clear view of his overall syllabus I doubt if sufficient attention is paid to the aim of each lesson or to evaluating the outcome of each lesson.

4 Mr L has no discipline problems and appears to enjoy an easy relationship with pupils, even where some appear bored.

5 Mr L's room has no historical presence. It is not an easy room in which to create any atmosphere, being crowded with desks and a piano and having windows down each side. Nevertheless the room appears untidy and lacks good visual aids, e.g. Mr L was using quite inappropriate maps for the lessons.

6 Mr L's use of the blackboard needs care. In some cases his writing is impossible to decipher.

7 Mr L is prepared to discuss his teaching quite frankly and openly but is I suspect reluctant to really question his own teaching, e.g. the absence local study.

8 Mr L appears to have a good academic background in History and benefits from the confidence that this gives him. Unfortunately his experience of History teaching is limited to his own experience and in my view he suffers from professional isolation in terms of History teaching.

9 In commenting upon Mr L's History teaching it must be clearly realised that he also has responsibility for Music throughout the school.

xxxxxxxxx

Principal County Inspector

I have alluded, in the introduction to this case, to the way in which the bureaucratic hierarchy is reinforced by this referral to higher levels of authority, when a problem is seen as either too difficult for a head or where additional powers are required. The findings in this report were mildly critical of the assistant teacher but only in terms of detail and in no way could they be interpreted as a total condemnation of his/her

standard of work. The importance of this, and later visits is in their symbolic effect.

In both this case study and in Case III head teachers appear to use the services of L.E.A. advisory staff as confirming agents. From a number of interviews, relating to other case examples, not quoted in this thesis, visits to secondary schools by advisory staff are seen by the teachers involved to be matters of concern. The popular view expressed by many Secondary Teachers that advisors take the side of the head and only serve to criticise. I believe that this is not the case in Middle Schools where advisory visits are far more frequent and are hence regarded as routine; with advisors functioning, as their name implies, to provide help and information. The conduct of the advisory staff in this case is in no way supportive of this critical view, their reports presenting a neutral commentary on the work observed. However, within the micro-political context of the dispute the symbolic power of the threatened visit carried a greater level of strategic weight than did the outcomes.

Some time after this first visit the head teacher again expressed his/her concern about the assistant's behaviour (ref Case Study IV Extract D).

Case Study No IV Extract D

Letter from Headteacher to Mr L

xxxxxxxxxxxxxx Education Committee

xxxxxxx HIGH SCHOOL

xxxxxxxSHIRE

Headteacher: Mr O

Mr L

xxnd February 19xx

Dear Mr L

I was surprised to see your Union Field Officer back again after three years when we broke up on Friday and even more surprised to hear that you had rung up one of the Governors at home asking what I had been saying about you at the recent Governors' Meeting. By the way, I waited after school to see if I could be of assistance but found that you had both gone home.

As you know, I have been trying to help you in your teaching role because of complaints and you are aware of my concern in a number of areas. My doubts are now increasing as to your wish or ability to co-operate. However, I write to confirm that no mention of this matter was made at the Governors' Meeting but feel that, in view of your initiative, I have no alternative but to involve both Governors and Advisory Staff. To this end I am sending both copies of this letter together with a request for help and if necessary a full enquiry by H.M.I.'s.

It is requested that the half-term holiday should start these but once again in trying to help you and the school I am being compromised, I think, unfairly xxxxx.

Yours sincerely

O

Doubts are here expressed about the assistant teacher's ... "wish to ability to co-operate" with the head teacher in improving the standards of history teaching. To this end the headteacher informed the assistant that he/she would be informing the Governors and the L.E.A. Advisory

Staff of these concerns and, if necessary, a full investigation by H.M.I.'s would be instigated. Again this represents the strategic use of Bureaucratic/hierarchical authority with problems being 'pushed upstairs' and the individual becomes accountable to progressively more senior levels of authority. From this letter I highlight three particular factors. Firstly the way in which the School Governors are referred to. At the time of this case study the position of school Governors was very variable, in some instances they appear to have been closely involved in the running of the schools, and in other cases, acted as nothing more than a 'rubber stamp' to the head teacher's decisions. There is no evidence available so that it is difficult to comment on the status of the Governors in this particular case, but it seems from the head teacher's letter that it was unusual for teachers to have much personal contact with members of the Governing body. The impression given suggests that like the advisors, they were regarded as another level within the schools accountability hierarchy. Secondly, the use of the term H.M.I.'s as a 'threat' cannot on this occasion be considered as a mistaken use of words. In the context of this case, their actual use would appear to be unlikely, the symbolic use as a threat being a more creditable explanation. Thirdly, it is worth noting how, the headteacher uses, both at the beginning and end of the letter the teacher's Christian name, this

contrasts the impersonal bureaucratic proceeding included in the text with the personal style of management that the head seemed to adopt.

Resulting from this referral by the headteacher a second visit by an L.E.A. advisor was made. (ref Case Study IV Extract E).

Case Study No IV Extract E

Report on Mr L by County Advisor No 2

THE COUNTY COUNCIL OF  
XXXXXXXXXX  
Education Department

County Education Officer

xxnd March 19xx

Mr O  
Headteacher  
xxxxx High School  
xxxxx

Dear Mr O

Please find enclosed a copy of the notes taken of my visit to your school on the xxth March. Much of what I have said in these notes I have already said to Mr L, but I am sure you will wish to discuss my findings more fully with him yourself.

Yours sincerely

xxxxxxx

xxxxxxx General County Inspector, The Humanities

Notes on the History Department at xxxx High School  
Head of Department: Mr L

At the request of Mr O, the Headmaster, I was requested to carry out a visit on the History Department at xxxx High School. This I did on Monday xxth March 19xx. The morning lessons that I observed were with a fourth year group of 8 (4 boys and 4 girls). Subject of the lessons "The Chartist Movement".

Aim of the lesson to make students aware of the needs leading up to the creating of the Chartist Movement. The Charter itself and the results of the movement.

Method: Mr L commenced the lesson with a brief revision of the previous week's work using a question and answer technique.

Part 2 of the lesson dealing with the Chartist was taught using a film strip and a prepared transcript together with duplicated notes which were issued to students.

Comments on lessons observed'

1. Students did not have a text book which dealt with this topic.

2. I felt that Mr L did not vary the pace of his lessons sufficiently and towards the end of a double period students were beginning to find it difficult to sustain interest.

3. Mr L expected students to remember too much detailed information without providing time for them to make notes nor did he put 'key' dates on the board to reinforce the facts that he had given.

The lesson did however have some positive aspects.

There appears to be a good relaxed relationship with students. Mr L ensured that they all involved themselves in the questions and answer part of the lesson and whenever he came across words which required explanation he ensured that all students understood. I felt that if Mr L taught all his lessons in a similar manner then his teaching was adequate.

#### The Classroom

Plenty of display work had been put up on the walls and though some of this was dated most of it was relevant.

In discussion with Mr L it would appear that the Humanities rooms were not geographically located near each other and this created difficulties at all times. I examined the text books available to the students and on the whole these appeared adequate.

#### Examinations Results

I questioned Mr L about the apparent lack of success which existed at present in 'O' level and CSE History.

Mr L stated that many of the students had failed because they were not officially time tabled for History but were doing the subject in their own time. There appeared to be a difficulty in creating options in which students could take both History and Biology.

### Capitation

In discussion with both Mr L and Mr O it would appear that capitation was in the region of 50p per student and Mr L stated that he felt this was adequate.

### Field Work

Very little field work takes place at the present time and students rarely go out on specific history projects.

### Recommendations

The History Department at present is undoubtedly in need of some rejuvenation and I have made the following recommendations to both Mr L and Mr O.

1. A Humanities "Area" would help to remove the rather isolated atmosphere of the History Department. If this is not possible, blackout should be provided for the history room.
2. Combined History/Geography field work would be easy to arrange in the local area, with very little cost involved, especially for years one to three, this would increase the popularity of the subject and would help to overcome resistance to the subject that at present reduces the number of students in the fourth and fifth years.
3. Mr L was happy to visit any schools where thriving history departments were operating at present and I have already arranged a visit to the xxxxx School for the near future.
4. I suggested to Mr L that he may like to become involved in the "Child's Awareness to Time" project and the 13-16 Schools Council History Project and I promised to provide him with the relevant literature in the near future. He has stated that he would be interested in getting involved in such projects.

A copy of the Report being included.

Again this was mildly critical of the assistant teacher's work but no 'damming' evidence suggestive of



incompetence was forthcoming.

Some time elapsed, there being no available evidence to indicate the events that occurred during this period, then the head teacher again wrote to the assistant expressing his concerns (ref Case Study IV Extract F).

Case Study IV Extract F  
Letter from Headteacher to Mr L

xxxxxxx HIGH SCHOOL  
xxxxxxxxx

Headteacher: Mr O

Dear xxxx

With reference to our talk on the Thursday before we broke up and my phone call yesterday, I have been looking carefully at the fourth year reports and am still very unhappy about the state of History, particularly the G.C.E. work.

When speaking to you last week after Mrs xxxx's visit I was surprised to see that xxxx was being steered towards C.S.E. after a years work. It would appear that others are in the same situation. As I said at the time, History is xxx's best subject in mark (68%) and position (2nd) and, he is set for G.C.E. for all other subjects, except for T.D. indeed the lad is keen to take History at 'A' level. Surely they cannot all be doing C.S.E.? Will not this compound any difficulties with extra work?

I have scrutinised the new A.E.B. Syllabus 151 and have serious doubts that the Fourth Year here had adequate preparation for this. You mention that 'we usually do Agriculture but are you covering 'European Agriculture from Roman times to the Agricultural Revolution' as xxxxxx have not perceived this. Please let me have a list of the elements covered to date, also those of option 06 'The Victorian Age'.

It is realised that because of choice difficulties a couple of pupils are being taught with the 'B' Form and another is attempting the work during Private Study under your supervision. I assumed that you are working closely with these pupils but hear that you rarely see them. In fact one has said that you have not spoken to him for over six months. How do you justify this? The same boy was given no report for History which he takes but you comment on his Music when he does not attend your lessons as he is doing an 'O' level course extra

murally. Can you explain?

With regard to the Aims, Objectives and Examination Structure for the New Exam, I have to ask you if your teaching has moved in time with the changes, particularly with regard to source material? Have you followed up the "Suggested Reading" recommended by the Board? Have the children been given this list? These are all pertinent questions which should have been resolved prior to the course starting. Incidentally, your School Syllabuses in the office are out of date too.

Although I still have not recovered from the blow of the disappearance of History for next year's 4A because of no-one taking up the option, however in view of help from the History Inspector, and your visits to other schools' History Departments, I had honestly hoped for improvements which are not apparent. I hope that you are able to answer the above questions as soon as possible as the matter is becoming urgent.

Yours sincerely

O

This contained a number of specific criticisms. It would be both improper and speculative to comment on the nature of the complaints but in strategic terms the letter seems to 'bombard' the teacher with criticisms. As an external observer it appears strange why a formal letter should have been used to request specific details about the day to day running of the school. It is also strange to see why such a mass of complaints should be allowed to build up before the head teacher had recourse to discuss the matter with one of his/her staff. It is very difficult to come to any firm conclusion, given the limited evidence, but subjectively it is possible to consider that the letter was more than a simple request

for information; rather a strategic device emphasising the seriousness of the headteacher's complaint.

These actions by the headteacher were interpreted by the assistant teacher in a different way. Throughout the case the assistant teacher maintained that the head's actions were motivated, not by a concern for the standards of history teaching in the school, but were either personal or based on the head's dislike of Trade Unions. In support of these beliefs he offered a range of evidence.

#### Case Study IV Extract A

Notes submitted to Union Field Officer by Mr L regarding his relations with his head teacher (Mr O)

CONFIDENTIAL NOTE FOR XXXXXXXXXXXX

ON BACKGROUND TO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MYSELF

MR L AND MR O

xxth April 19xx

The latest incident with Mr O culminating in his informing me that he would ask an H.M.I. to investigate my subject teaching, is - I cannot help feeling - not unconnected with my Union activities, coming - as it does - straight after his announcement to the assembled school that he does not approve of Unions, and that their power should be reduced. - These statement have often been repeated by him in the Staff Room. He also added last week that he intends to vote Conservative in the coming Election as he hopes that they will "deal with the Unions".

It would appear that in Mr O's mind, as local secretary of the Union with the largest membership in the school, I am the object of this antipathy - though why this should be I can't imagine as he has had no union militancy in his school, and if anything, I have taken great pains not to over react to various situations that have arisen.

During the last Autumn Term a row broke out because some staff who were concerned about falling standards of discipline and behaviour of pupils stayed behind after school so as to discuss the matter at length. This arose spontaneously out of casual conversation, and I only heard about it the day afterwards when a row broke out in the Staff Room with Mr O tirading the teachers concerned for holding an unofficial staff meeting. The crux of the matter was that they were critical of him.

On that and other similar occasions I refrained from comment because had I done so it might have been interpreted as a Union dispute and the affair might have escalated. - I quote this incident merely to show that it has not been my policy to over react - but rather to play down trouble to the extent that sometimes I have been accused by some of the members of my Union for not giving them the support that they thought they might have expected.

Mr O's antipathy towards members of the Union has a long history - as Mr M, the previous holder of the position as local secretary can testify - culminating in undue pressures by Mr O for Mr M's resignation at a time when Mr M was suffering from severe clinical depression and unable to give a good account of himself. Mr O even called with his son (a pupil) at Mr M's house during his illness and asked for his resignation, he also put this in writing - at a time of great stress for the M's.

Mr M must not be pressurised at a time of weakness into a decision - and I also advised them to contact their Union Executive Member. At school I acquainted the School Representative with the situation and he agreed with me - and we both spoke to Mr O on separate occasions on the subject.

Mr O was aware of my backing of M, including representing him at an Insurance Tribunal.

When Mr M's successor as French teacher, Mr N was notified that his appointment at xxxx School was to be terminated I pointed out to Mr N (as a Member of the Union) that he had served more than six months at the school - and he would therefore have a case under the Employment Protection Act. At Mr N's request I acted for him in the matter and applied for an Industrial Tribunal. Shortly afterwards, Mr N received a Contract

from the Education Authority confirming his permanent appointment.

Most recently Miss R, a probationary games teacher, was suddenly informed, without warning, that she had failed her probationary year - and that her probation would be extended for six months; (all this blew up overnight). After the extension Mr O again failed her. I then advised R, - as a Member of the Union - that as it appeared Mr O's attitude to her was intractable, her best course was to ask to serve the further extension of her probation at another school - where I understand she is now very happy and doing well.

Although at the time I did not associate myself with it - soon after his arrival, about six years ago, there was a private explosion of feeling amongst the staff over falling standards and over his non-support of the then Deputy Head, S, in her desire to maintain standards of discipline and behaviour amongst pupils. S declared it impossible to work with him and soon left to take up another appointment. Many of the staff have periodically quite heatedly discussed falling standards of discipline and behaviour of pupils since his arrival.

My former colleague, Mr M and his wife both maintain that this anxiety about falling standards of both behaviour and discipline amongst pupils was a major contributory factor in his worsening depression. Mr M and I originally used to travel together to school from xxxx to xxxx and, as a result of his depression, he became unable to sleep or to face the thought of the day ahead - and this sometimes made us late. On one occasion Mr M expressed to me his disgust that a senior boy had mentioned to him having been set by Mr O for detention an essay entitled: "You Don't Shit on Your Own Back Doorstep"! I have heard Mr O make crude jokes on a number of occasions in the staff room in front of lady teachers - the latest incident, ironically, almost immediately after he had been reprimanding From "A" for vulgarity last week.

Recently a visit by some German students and their Headmaster was arranged under the Twin Town Scheme. It was hoped by our German mistress to follow this up with a school trip back to the German town. However, the Germans refused to co-operate over this, and the visit will not now take place. Mr O has blamed the teacher in question for this incident, although he was heard by me and many others to "joke" to the German Headmaster "Have you brought your machine gun?"

Some years ago the Timetable was amended so the 5th Form had only one lesson of Music a week - hence music could no longer be an exam option. A small number of children discussed with me that they felt this time would be

better used on exam subjects - and I countered that the subject was of intrinsic value. One of their number, xxxx, under considerable parental pressure to excel, apparently raised this in the School Council - as the Minutes were pointed out to me on the Staff Notice Board, to the effect "could Mr L make music lessons more interesting, could pupils bring their own records".

I felt criticism of a member of staff at a meeting under his Chairmanship should not have taken place, nor should it have been Minuted - but on discussing this with Mr O I was told I should play records and let them get on with their homework!

Since 19xx I have had a flourishing Recorder Group in the school. Not long ago, however, the new xxxx teacher, who was interested in playing the recorder asked me whether she could temporarily "try her hand" at training them and I agreed. Although Mr O clearly is no musician and has not shown any interest, or encouragement, for the work I have done - he suddenly fell over himself obtaining new instruments and press coverage for any achievement by the Recorder Group - not so for the choir and band I was working with at the same time!

Last Autumn a lady member of staff and I embarked on an ambitious production for Christmas, eventually involving three-quarters of the school in two musicals and a concert. Although this was very well received by parents and we received many compliments - not least from the Chairman of the Governors, Mr O was loud in his criticism - even to the assembled cast at the Dress Rehearsal - "If you go on improving at each performance I may not actually lose my job by the last night when the Chairman of the Governors comes"!

He even apologised to the audience on the last night of the Concert for the Band (who had worked very hard and done well) - and he again next day repeated his derogatory remarks about the Concert to the assembled school next day - very much to the disgust of several members of staff, and a number of children felt they would not want to work for another Concert to get that sort of reaction afterwards for their Head.

For many years I have been asking for the rather poor record player in the Music Room to be replaced - to no avail. However when Mr N (the French Master) recently proposed that we have a music centre for the hall Mr O was enthusiastic, and immediately put Mr N in charge of investigating the possibilities of purchase. I, as Music Master, was not consulted.

In view of the foregoing information I have no confidence in Mr O's good faith. I feel justified in inferring that the ostensible reason for the visit of

the H.M.I. Mr xxx, to investigate the "low numbers opting for History" may like so many other incidents in the past, have been manipulated by Mr O to my disadvantage. Many of the staff are very aware of the importance of maintaining links with industry and keeping abreast with new developments by in service training. Recently a memorandum on school/industry links appeared briefly on the Staff Notice Board on which Mr O had written "I feel that no one can be 'spared' here even if suitable supply teachers might be found. However I would be prepared to organise something either after school or during the holidays if required. I have advised the Governors, local Careers

Advisory Committee, and Mr xxx the then Director of Education, accordingly". I understand Mr xxx was told no one was interested!

Mr M will verify the "arbitrary selection by Mr O of pupils for German when this subject was first introduced. There was no consultation over pupils' suitability to follow a German course.

I question the validity of these so called "options" - which appear to be operated without consultation with the teachers concerned as to suitability of individual pupils for the study of particular subjects. Clearly pupils will not necessarily make their choices alone for the right reason. My own belief is that children from the lowest to the highest ability ranges can only achieve their potential in a framework of reasonable discipline (and this does not mean repression). When Mr O came he declared that before his time the children had been repressed. There is a basic difference of opinion here as to what constitutes reasonable discipline and what repression. I am not alone in thinking that the criticism levelled against me is for the maintenance of standards both of behaviour and academic work. My History results over the years bear witness to this claim. My classes have consistently done well when compared with other children in the country. (For three out of the last five years one of my pupil's projects has been rated top at the County CSE Validation Meetings, - and I have always had some pupils in the top five).

We are currently comprehensive only to the third year. My contention is that the maintenance and raising of standards is in the best interests of this and all subsequent intakes.

In this initial submission to the union the teacher explains how in his/her opinion the case developed.

Here reference is made to a former member of staff and union officer, who according to the assistant teacher had been harassed to such an extent that they had been forced to resign on health grounds. Within this lengthy statement, detailing his/her feelings about the grievance, the assistant teacher makes various subjective criticisms of the head teacher. The detail of these matters is largely unimportant, but it is clear that the style of management and the strategies employed by the head teacher served to disturb the assistant and to convince him/her of the head's opposition.

In the report made by the Union Field Officer (ref Case Study IV Extract B) various relevant details emerge.

Case Study No IV Extract B

Report of Union Field Officer in response to Mr L's complaint (Extract A)

Report of a visit by Field Officer Mr xxxx to xxxxx School, xxxxx, to discuss with the Headteacher Mr O, the relationship between him and our member Mr L

On Tuesday xxth April 19xx, I paid a visit to xxxxxx School to discuss with the Headmaster, Mr O, certain grievances which our member Mr L had.

I was received courteously by Mr O and I explained to him that my visit was in no way aggressive but would, I hoped, clear up points of difference between Mr L and himself. Mr O agreed to discuss the matter on this basis and, at its conclusion when he said that he would have to report the matter to the Governors, he agreed to my request that this should not be done.

In view of an intimation that Mr O had invited to H.M.I. to visit the School and inspect Mr L History teaching, I asked Mr O if, in his opinion, Mr L's History teaching was below standard, and in what respects. Mr O pointed out the difficulties in providing options for school leaving examinations in a small 2-stream school. In the A stream six children had opted for History, but hardly any, if any at all, in the B stream. He said that Mr



L's teaching in the A form was satisfactory but lacked sparkle. It was his opinion the children spent too much time taking notes. Their work was well-marked by Mr L but the marks were not, in Mr O's opinion, sufficiently discriminatory. He agreed that the performance of Mr L's pupils in the C.S.E. examination had been good - some of them distinguished. Mr O accounted for the lack of B children opting for History as being due to fear of Mr L's iron discipline. Mr O said that Mr L insisted on children standing until he entered the room. To this I commented that I saw very little wrong with that. Mr L, also frightened the children, asserted Mr O, that there had been cases (plural) of bed-wetting which he attributed to this - despite the plural he enumerated one case of a girl only. At my suggestion, Mr O agreed that there was a great difference between his disciplinary standards and those of Mr L.

Nevertheless, it was Mr O himself who had recommended Mr L for his grade 2 post. His job specification, if it exists seems to be Master i/c History and Music.

I mentioned that Mr L feels that Mr O is antipathetic to him because of his union work and I pointed out to the headteacher what is said in this regard on p.4 of the D.E.P. publication "Individual rights of Employers". Mr O vigorously denied any such allegation, pointing out that he himself is a member of a union. When I suggested that derogatory remarks about unions were said to have been made by him to the staff and children Mr O denied this. He added that Mr L did not show up at school during the oil strike, but what he did not tell me was that this was as a result of an instruction which, he himself, had given to the staff, and that Mr L was by no means the only member who had done this on Mr O's instruction.

I then pointed out that the track record for union officers at xxxx High School was not a good one; a previous union secretary who had taught at the school, Mr M, had left the profession on breakdown. After some hesitation, Mr O agreed that he had written to Mr M on xxth September 19xx requesting his resignation. What he did not tell me was that at the time of his letter Mr M's absence from school was a bare three weeks. Neither did he acquaint Mr M with the sick pay entitlement. Fortunately this was done by our union Field Officer. (Comment - I was unaware of the short time Mr M had been absent before a request for his resignation was sent). Mr O agreed that M L did not let his union work intrude into his life in school. To use an outworn cliché he keeps a "low profile". Mr O suggested, however, that Mr L might be considered something of a "loner" and his relationships with the staff were not always as good as they might be (Comment

- whose are?). He had, said Mr O, once told a member of staff that he could not give instrumental instruction to a group of pupils as this was his (Mr L's) preserve.

Recently Mr L had applied for another teaching post and Mr O had been asked to supply a reference to the school to which Mr L had applied. Mr O complained to me that Mr L had not sought his permission to use his name for this purpose which Mr O regarded as a breach of good manners. He was good enough to let me see the reference which he had provided and it is fair to say that it was a perfectly good one although Mr L might have argued that there had been certain omissions favourable to himself.

Other complaints which Mr O had against Mr L were

1. alleged frequent late-coming which meant that he was not available in the morning to play the piano for morning assembly. "In that case", said Mr O, "I just carry on without him".

2. Mr L's involvement in the musical life of the School was insufficient to satisfy Mr O. He seems, according to Mr O, to be more interested in his private piano lessons and other out-of-school activities. However, Mr O did admit, that at his suggestion, Mr L had given some personal tuition on the piano to one pupil in the school who was an orphan.

Mr O vigorously denied that the approach to the County Senior Advisor, Mr xxxx, (not to an H.M.I. as Mr L had thought) had been made with the intention of commencing a disciplinary procedure against him. The idea was to invite in a History Advisor to assist Mr L with his teaching technique, particularly with the B stream who, he thought would profit from a livelier approach with more visual aids, local history outings etc. The request to the Office had been by telephone and not by letter so that there was no way in which I could know the terms in which it was couched. Mr O had also recommended to Mr L that an INSET training course might be helpful and Mr L had accepted the suggestion and he tells me that he is attending such a course at the moment.

The discussion concluded with Mr O saying that he certainly did not want to lose Mr L's services. The job specification which he was filling was one for which it would be very difficult for him to secure a replacement of Mr L's calibre.

signed xxxxxxxxxxxx  
Union Field Officer  
xxth April 19xx

During this discussion the headteacher claimed that his motives were based on nothing other than his/her desire to see effective history teaching within the school, however, it is clear that the two teachers held very different opinions on a wide range of educational matters. Many of the isolated items of criticism contained in both this case extract and, in the general notes submitted by the assistant (ref Case Study IV Extract A) appear, at first, to be irrelevant to the case. Here I refer to details such as the assistant teacher's attendance during an oil strike or the attitude of the headmaster when dealing with disciplinary matters. These apparently unconnected incidents do, however, serve to demonstrate the complicated micro-political background that underlies the formal documentation. Clearly accountability is being used by the headteacher as a strategic device, but from the available information it is uncertain as to the real motives that initiated these actions. This fact is not just an indication of a weakness in my methodology but is an important illustration of how accountability can be used to legitimate actions. From the evidence, the headteacher was following a line commensurate with a generally accepted interpretation of his duty - attempting to improve the standards of teaching in his/her school. For the assistant teacher the problem is how to substantiate the counter claims without there being any available, hard evidence. Here interesting

parallels can be drawn with Case Study III, in this study the fundamental point at issue was one of contractual duty - a matter that would ultimately be judged on legal grounds. In this study the headteacher's claims relating to professional conduct and traditional responsibility were side-stepped in favour of the more simplistic legal definitions. In Case Study IV the headteacher's 'desire' for competent teaching and improved standard had a closer affinity to the contractual - as perceived through the notion of accountability in its 'value for money' mode - rather than the teachers claims of harassment. Again this is illustrative of how accountability can be used to 'lift' an aspect of a dispute from the confusing domain of micro politics into a more public arena, where only specific issues are used in determining responsibility or blame.

This case did not reach the stage of a Formal Grievance Procedure for shortly after the headteacher's final letter (ref Case Study IV Extract G), the assistant teacher's health deteriorated and he/she was advised to resign from the school - the pressure of the dispute being a contributory factor to his/her nervous condition

## Conclusions

In this Case Study Section of my thesis I have selected four disputes that provide material illustrative of the theoretical concepts isolated in Chapters II and III. These cases have been chosen deliberately, from the material at my disposal for three reasons. Firstly, they contrast with each other, each one concentrating on a different aspect of the accountability debate. Secondly, they are illustrative of concepts that can be applied to a number of examples and are not restricted to specific incidents or times. However with regard to any generalisation extrapolated from these case studies a degree of caution needs to be observed. The term typical is potentially dangerous, for like most historical events the differences that make these cases unique far outweigh the similarities that may go to suggest any apparent unity. Thirdly, although the case studies are all concerned with formal disputes, they are closely linked to the informal, day to day 'subterranean rumblings' that characterise all school organisations, although here a significant point needs to be made. There would appear to be no clear distinction, in terms of content, between the formal dispute and the informal; context and individual's determining whether a particular set of events should be lifted from the day to day micro-political manoeuvrings of the workplace and designated the status of a formal dispute. What does distinguish the formal from the informal dispute is the

way in which it is reported and documented. Critical here is the question of timing. In ordinary discussion or argument, despite the strategic use of delaying time or thinking time, most responses have to be immediate or fairly rapid. Arguments are thought out 'on the ground' and strategies adopted and developed quickly in order to cope with rapidly changing events. For the formal dispute, especially the Formal Grievance Procedure, a protracted time scale is imposed, letters being sent and received meetings being arranged and reported on etc. and arenas for conflict prepared in advance. Resulting from this slowing down procedure many of the prepared statements and documents are both illustrative of the theoretical material and reflections of it. Arguments are couched in ideological and theoretical terms in order to add weight to their essential meaning. It is in this way that accountability operates as a major legitimating strategy.

In Chapter Two I identify three conceptual areas that together encompass the somewhat nebulous concept of accountability. Within this section I have attempted to highlight examples that are illustrative of these key concepts. My first conceptual area is concerned with those aspects of accountability that are devised from models of society (or at the micro-level of the organisation) based upon sets of externally perceived laws, these either limit the parameters of potential debate, or, impose improving lawful apriori structures.

In the first of these lawful structures the overall conception of social order is given and accountability operates as an adjusting, operational mechanism that ensures the smooth running of the model. An interesting, if partial, illustration of this occurs in a number of the case studies, and especially in Cases I and III. In both these disputes a major issue is the head teacher's rights - in the first case to impose a new form of administrative structure and in the second to define the duties and responsibilities of an assistant teacher. A characteristic trade union response to this form of dispute is to confirm the head teacher's right to manage the staff but to then attempt some modification of this behaviour. This can, no doubt, be interpreted in strategic terms, as well as being seen as representative of the rhetoric of negotiation, but it also demonstrates this aspect of lawful accountability. Disputes that question the rights of headteachers, especially those as serious as Grievance Procedures, have within them the potential power to question the basis of organisational structure and hierarchy control. This potential is limited by the Trade Union's response. In accepting and confirming the overall authority of the headteacher the unions restrict themselves to altering only specific details of the organisational mechanism.

The second example of lawful accountability that I deal with is also the most prevalent. The concept of

Bureaucratic Rationality as a means of organisational control is supported by an extensive literature. As an ideal type it exhibits characteristics that rarely manifest themselves, at least in a pure form, in organisational practice, yet it is clear that as a model it approximates a mode of organisation that is applicable to many groups, including schools. The case studies provide frequent examples of bureaucratic/hierarchical management, these being illustrative of certain ideal type characteristics and of some of the unofficial 'dysfunctional' aspects of its operation. Of particular note is the emphasis on hierarchical control with head teachers appearing to base much of their authority on the power and status derived from this position. A further example of this is shown by the ways (ref Case Study Examples III and IV) whereby headteachers refer to higher hierarchical levels for support - using the advisory services and inspectorate as a means of controlling the behaviour of subordinates. This aspect of control is more complicated than a simple hierarchical model would indicate. Within the case studies the actions of the advisors and inspectors are not those of superiors involved in controlling the behaviour of subordinates, but are perceived to be, in a symbolic sense, as such by those very subordinates. In this way hierarchical control operates more powerfully at a symbolic level than at the physical.

The second item in my typology of accountability



concerns those aspects that involve financial considerations and contractual duties. Here questions of value for money and services commensurate with wages predominate. In my analysis of the theoretical background to this conceptual area I refer to the ideologies that supported demands for a cheap and limited education service. The case studies do not provide examples that are as crude and simplistic as those quoted from the 19th century but, nevertheless, facets of this are still readily discernible. The case studies, that I have considered all date from a period prior to the 1988 Education Act and are therefore representative of a less competitive and financially conscious era. With the advent of Devolved Financial Management and the opportunity for schools to opt out of Local Authority control the scope for teachers being held to account, on the grounds of crude financial necessity will appear again. In both cases III and IV aspects of contract and performance form the basis of the dispute, at least in the form of a simplistic interpretation.

It is interesting to observe, how, within these cases the points that are taken as relevant, when making any formal judgement of a dispute, are chosen in a highly selective manner. In this way a specific definition of contract, or an opinion relating to a specific classroom teacher's performance can be used as decisive evidence in confirming a particular view.

This selective use of criticism often seems to be independent of the whole range of micro-political activity that subsumes the disputes, this material being either ignored or set aside.

My third conceptual area of accountability deals with the various notions of professionalism. This is, in many ways, the most complicated and also that which has the closest affinity to accountability. Various theoretical interpretations exist, and I have attempted to analyse the most important of them in Chapter Two. Many of these, often functionalist forms of analysis, fail, because of their 'obsessive' concern with identifying specific trait characteristics that can separate professional occupations from non-professional. These studies do, however, still have a relevance, for many of the trait characteristics, that they attempt to define, are the very claims that different professional groups make about themselves. Their use, therefore, is not as a diagnostic criteria but rather as an indication of self proclaimed characteristics. I have suggested earlier in my analysis, that there are some indications that suggest that these theoretical models have become part of the folklore of the occupational groups and that there is some attempt at mimicking the characteristics that have been ascribed to them. In Case Study II two clear stereotype profiles of professional behaviour occur. One teacher claiming that his/her conduct was centred around a concern for the needs of the client and

the other claiming that actions were a result of a belief in improving collegiate status.

Both claimed professionalism as a means of explaining action, both deemed themselves accountable to their images of professional conduct.

Another example of how this 'image' of professionalism can be used strategically occurs in Case Study I. In this case a headteacher seeks to impose a new administration structure, in opposing this the teacher unions claim many of the characteristics of the 'autonomous professional' and used these as a means of legitimising their opposition. Further examples of professionalism as a theoretical means of both explaining actions and as a strategic means of justifying and explaining them occurs within this case study section.

In Chapter III I have examined some of the operational characteristics of management, concentrating upon examples of leadership style, various levels of strategy and the nature of micro-politics. Like the theoretical assumptions examined in Chapter II aspects of these can also be identified in the case study material. Headteachers' style is a somewhat illusory concept in that the ideal type models that are created in the literature do not conform, in any uniform way, with the perceptions of those who work with the organisational leaders. In this way the actions of a leader who is attempting to adopt a particular style may be

interpreted in a completely different way by those working with him/her. Likewise different individuals, within an organisation, may identify various aspects from any given leader's performance. Although flawed as a means of examining managerial actions, certain aspects of this form of analysis are still valuable. In Case Study II the assistant teacher repeatedly defined the actions of the head in terms of a dictatorial, authoritarian style and succeeded in convincing him/her self that this was the mode of leadership prevalent in the school (evidence supporting this claim coming from a number of interviews with the teacher involved). Discussion with other parties, involved in the dispute, showed that this interpretation of management style was by no means universal. However for the assistant teacher this means of conceptualising the realities that existed between him/her self and the headteacher was a valuable means of rationalising events.

Throughout this analysis of the case study examples I have made frequent reference to the concept of strategy and the various levels at which they operate. At the level that I identify as simple - one dimensional - numerous examples can be noted, their use mainly being restricted to the observable and often short term acquisition of ends. Typical examples of such are the headteacher's patrolling of corridors and the entering of probationary teachers' classrooms on the pretext of putting litter into waste paper baskets. At a more

complex level strategic action involves more sophisticated techniques, with not all the parties involved being aware of the strategic implications of the various actions and events. At this level agendas are controlled, and stages set. In case II I note how the assistant teacher was taken to the head by a deputy, the hierarchical order being confirmed through the ritualistic knocking at office doors, requesting entry etc. Many of these strategies form the building blocks that determine the perception of style. It would appear that for an individual to recognise a set of actions as representative of a particular style a specific collection of characteristic strategic elements seems to be necessary. This tentative explanation may well show how different individuals attribute different stylistic modes to identical performances; for a particular strategy will not necessarily have the same effect on every interpersonal relationship.

At its most complicated - three dimensional level - strategy is more difficult to identify. Here ideological controls and a more sophisticated use of symbols are used. Of key importance, here, is the ability of the leader to control the growth and development of issues - this ability being an indication of the leader's real power. This more sophisticated controlling of the agenda is well illustrated in a somewhat negative way, in Case Study III. In this case the head teacher has failed to

control the issues associated with the P E teacher's contractual duties. The assistant teacher, working with the union, have both initiated the Grievance Procedure and have effectively nominated the areas that are to be used in the debate. In attempting to counter the claims made by the assistant the head has already been put at a significantly strategic disadvantage. While not so clearly spelled out Case Study Four is illustrative of the reverse of this, with the head teacher instigating the investigation into the assistant teacher's quality of work and choosing this issue as the basis for action.

In this brief examination of strategy I have isolated three levels of usage but in practice all three may operate continuously - at times together and at others separately. First order strategies may unite to form the elements that constitute more sophisticated means of control and more complicated strategies may break down into simple games moves or observable tricks.

Chapter Three concludes with an examination of some of the literature dealing with the notion of micro-politics. As a means of dealing with the study of management it brings with it both limitations and opportunities of gaining insights into operational practices. In the examination of case study data micro politics is for the most part conspicuous by its absence. The data consists of retrospective reports, letters and formal documents, and as such is lacking in

the detail that makes up the alliances and the strategic moves in support of self interest that are some of the elements that contribute to the micro political domain. The absence of clearly defined micro politics in the documented evidence does not infer that it is absent from the cases. I have made frequent reference to the ways in which unreported motives, strategies and actions underlie the material that is available for analysis. It is often difficult to isolate and 'get to grips' with much micro political activity, much of it being inaccessible in that the actions are not the result of carefully thought out motives but rather short term reactions resulting in actions of immediate self interest. There is a similar difficulty in detecting micro political group activity for at this level 'interest groups' are transitional and do not effect conventional power groupings. When aspects of micro political behaviour are isolated, there is a tendency to see them as trivia, this being a mistaken belief, for the apparently minor incidents are found at the roots of serious disputes and personal grievances. All of the case studies can be reduced to a list of trivial incidents but it becomes clear that together they represent socially important matters that are of concern both to the organisational management and the individuals concerned.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

#### A summary of the work so far

I began the introduction of this thesis by referring to the disparate nature of the literature associated with the notion of accountability and its application to the field of educational management. I have attempted, in the preceding chapters, to bring together some of these widespread strands and develop some form of cohesive argument. Because of the somewhat nebulous nature of the concept of accountability it has proved advisable, from an early stage, to divide the concept into a number of subsections. In order to achieve this a threefold typology has been developed with three key conceptual areas being identified; these being; accountability as manifested through various lawful constructions; accountability based upon financial returns, notions of value for money and matters of contract and finally, accountability based upon various interpretations of the concept of professionalism.

The first of these types divides into two related forms, both are based upon a concept of a society (or at the micro level an organisation) that is ruled by external laws. In the first format, these laws both define the parameters and definitions that encompass the model and are, in themselves, taken as apriori factors in any analysis of the operation of the organisation. When



such a model is used as a basis for social theory accountability is seen being as concerned with the operational mechanism of the systems. Individuals are held responsible, not for the form or nature of the social order - for this is regarded as given - but for the working of the various mechanisms that allow the model to function. In educational terms, the emphasis falls on such topics as the methods of testing, the assessment of pupils and teachers, methods of dealing with less able groups of pupils etc. All these are matters of operational practice and do not question the overall validity of the model. Whilst not diminishing the importance of much of this work it is important to recognise the potential functionalist trap that exists when society (or the organisation) is seen to have clearly defined aims, or when those who fail exams or who fail to respond to remedial education are treated as dysfunctional deviant minorities.

Important by-products of these theoretical approaches are those technical innovations that potentially reduce the teacher input into the curriculum, by using highly prescriptive materials and kits. Here the individual teacher is made accountable not for the content of the material but only for the transmission of the relevant parts of the instructional kit. By reducing the teacher's role to that of an instructor other important manifestations can be identified; important amongst these is how the teacher/instructor now has a weaker

'professional' power base, and therefore, a reduced potential for bargaining and enhancing the status of both occupation and school system.

The second format, contained in the first items in my typology is also based upon a lawful model, but here the laws are used to define the shape and nature of the organisation. Bureaucratic Rationality is a somewhat sophisticated concept and as a means of introducing and expanding upon its relevance to a study of accountability I refer to the related concept of authority. The affinity that exists between these two conceptual areas being dependent upon the duties and responsibilities that result from an acceptance of authority. Of fundamental importance to any analysis of the concepts of authority and bureaucracy are the writings of Max Weber. His work, especially "Essays in Sociology" (ed by Gerth and Mills 1946), provides an important basis upon which to start an examination of the subject. In arriving at an analysis of bureaucratic rationality Weber examines two other more 'primitive' forms of authority - these being based upon an individual's charismatic claims, and those based upon traditionally accepted beliefs. These he assigned to pre-industrial society, but recognised that elements of them continued to play a residual part in the bureaucratic authority structures that characterised industrial society. While recognising that Weber is describing an ideal type, with all the limitations

imposed by this analytical method, certain characteristics are readily discernible. These include the ways in which within this organisational structure work is divided upon the basis of technical competence, with individuals being given a series of designated tasks and responsibilities. In addition, and of particular relevance to the case studies examined in Chapter IV, the work place is organised on hierarchical lines with each layer of authority being clearly designated. In terms of accountability any individual may be held to account to those who work in strata above him/her, while he/she will be held accountable for those who occupy subservient layers.

Other characteristics of the ideal type bureaucracy concern the way in which personal relationships are discouraged, these being seen as an irrational and potentially dysfunctional forms of behaviour. Those who work in 'pure' bureaucratic structures benefit from clearly defined forms of promotion and demotion, seniority being based upon readily identifiable objective criteria. Although Weber did not set out to describe anything other than a theoretical, ideal type model, his work has been criticised and a number of conflicting interpretive points made. A common strand running through many of these criticisms concerns the misplaced belief that all who operate in the formal organisation share common aims. By accepting that this is unlikely to be the case a range of activities can be

identified that may, or may not, be dysfunctional in the terms of the stated aims of the organisation but are, in Weber's terminology, results of irrational action. This dichotomy between stated 'official' aims and the unofficial activities of individual members is an important concern of this thesis and I will return to it later in these concluding observations.

The second item in my typology concerns the use of financial and contractually related aspects of accountability. Although, in some cases, based on theory or on the outcome of a related concept, this type of accountability is somewhat atheoretical in its operation. I have attempted to identify three items from within this type that are of importance, these being; the practical implications that have resulted from those ideologies that support the need for a cheap education service; various aspects related to the notion of 'value for money' and thirdly, the balance of the exchange relationship between the paymaster and the servant. The first of these has an historical background that becomes most clearly developed in the second half of the 19th century, when politically and ideologically it was acceptable that a service should be both cheap and the minimum concern of the state. Here it is possible to identify clear links with the philosophy of Free Trade, that I alluded to in the first item of my typology.

Although not so explicitly advocated today, the

ideologies that lie behind the call for a cheap education service are still active and manifest themselves in a number of ways. An example of this comes with the emphasis that is placed upon efficiency and value for money. Numerous examples of this could be cited but I have selected certain aspects of the legislation connected with the 1988 Education Act as exemplars, these including references to some of the implications of Devolved Financial Management and the proposed reduction in certifying bodies.

The third strand, included in this type, concerns the exchange relationship between the 'paymaster' and the 'servant'. A major problem, associated with this area, is the identity of the paymaster. A number of groups claim this position and each has a potentially different series of expectations from the teachers concerned. Within this area it is important to distinguish between the claims that are made regarding duty and responsibility and the legally defined aspects of contract. This being one of the key issues dealt with in the case study analysis contained in Chapter IV. The relationship, between the employer - or the agent of the employer - and the employee is also a major issue in my third typological area, that of accountability through professionalism. In this area various questions relating to the perceptions of duty and responsibility are the legitimate topics of debate. In my examination of the theories that relate to the concept of

professional accountability I focus on two distinct sociological traditions; those, mainly functionalist, theories that see society from a consensus perspective and those that adopt a conflict approach. For the former group the chief concern has been centred around the debate concerning the uniqueness of professional occupations. In order to examine this, there have been numerous attempts at discovering which set of trait characteristics define the professional group. This has been largely unproductive in that it takes each profession's own claims and restates them in another guise. However, while rejecting much of this functionalist analysis, from an interpretive viewpoint, I justify its inclusion in this thesis, on the grounds that it has entered the folklore of the occupational group and as such re-emerges in various explanations or justifications of events and actions. Illustrative of this, is the way in which theoretical assumptions concerning the supposed conflict between professional and bureaucratic organisations are used in support of various actions and disputes, Case Study I being a good example of this, with a Trade Union justifying its actions in terms of a professional conduct that is opposed to bureaucratic management. A more fruitful theoretical analysis of professionalism abandons this search for trait characteristics and defines the concept of professionalism in terms of the mobilisation and legitimisation of power resources. From this standpoint

confused notions of duty, training and client relations are removed, as are the occupationally specific factors that have dogged much earlier research.

Before examining my case study material I have felt it to be important to locate the theoretical analysis of Chapter II in the operational context. I have, therefore, used Chapter III as a means of providing a brief introduction to certain aspects of managerial practice. In order to achieve this I have selected three micro level forms of analysis. Firstly I have examined the notion of leadership style; identifying three type models, Interpersonal, Managerial and Political style. In some ways the use of these conceptual models, as a means of analysis is limited, but, rather in the way that functional descriptions of professionalism are unsatisfactory in terms of academic theory, they have become accepted devices and means of explaining individual's perceptions of behaviour. This occurs in Case Study II where an assistant teacher made frequent references to the Head Teacher's style and attributed various actions, and motives behind actions, to his/her perception of this style.

My second micro level means of analysis concerns the use of strategy. This I recognise as a complex concept and, in order to assist with an analysis of both its scope and methodology I adopt Lukes (ref Lukes S 1974) three dimensional model of power to create a simple typology. At the most simple, one dimensional level, strategy

works as a short term means of obtaining specific results, at its most crude it is nothing more than a series of tricks that can be employed to obtain identifiable ends. At a more complex level strategy focuses on a simple form of controlling the agenda and the conscious use of symbols as a means to achieve ends. The final, three dimensional view is, however, more difficult to identify in practice, for it relies upon ideological controls and a more complex use of symbol plus sophisticated control over the agenda. At this level strategic action has the power to both determine the issues, that are to be considered, and the power to prevent potentially undesirable issues entering into the arena of debate. My final area of micro analysis is concerned with the notion of micro politics. Beneath all the formal statements and documents concerning an organisation's practice exists an underworld that is recognised by all who have any dealings with the organisation. While it is one of the most common topics of staffroom conversation its existence, and more importantly, its influence has received, until recently, little in the way of academic recognition. I quote from a number of exceptions to this rule in Chapter III and attempt to, at least, recognise the existence of micro politics in my case study analysis. An important characteristic of micro politics is the transitory nature of many of the alliances that form, separate and re-form. From one perspective it appears as a working



out of crude self interest in opposition to the claimed aims and objectives of the formal organisation. Personal motives, of all types, and the methods employed to achieve them are all part of the micro political process.

Before moving to the Case Study material I have included a brief selective examination of "Accountability in the Middle Years of Schooling - An analysis of policy options" this being the final report of the East Sussex Research Project. (ref. Becher, Eraut, Barton, Canning & Knight 1979). The project identifies numerous aspects of the way in which accountability is managed both in the informal teacher to teacher domain and in the formal constitutional relationship between employer and staff. While being sensitive to the risks involved in highly selective analysis, I have attempted to place certain of these procedures into my own typographic analysis and to indicate the ways in which alternative cases are made of apparently straightforward causes of action.

From these three chapters, devoted to the broadly theoretical aspects of educational accountability, I turn, in Chapter IV, to an examination of the case studies. Here I have selected four examples, each emanating from a different school, and dealing with both different forms of accountability and showing a range of the different strategic devices. In my analysis of these case studies, and in the conclusions to Chapter IV

I attempt to highlight various aspects of the case study materials, these being exemplars, illustrative of the analysis that precede it.

From an examination of the case data a number of important conceptual areas can be identified. At the most basic level it is clear that accountability has implications for the management of schools. As workers employed by a specific body, and bound by contract, all staff are under a legal duty to conform to certain prescribed rules of attendance and working practices. Accountability has, however, far wider implications than are encompassed in any narrow, formal legalistic interpretation. The organisational structure, whether it be perceived as any formal bureaucratic structure or not, brings with it hierarchical controls with individuals being held accountable to superiors. In terms of internal structures, this is clearly manifested in the way in which assistant teachers are held accountable to heads of department, House Masters/Mistresses etc and in turn these being accountable to deputy head teachers who are, themselves, subservient to the head teacher. The picture is made more complicated by the way in which this closed hierarchical model is affected by external bodies such as Governors and L.E.A. officials who may offer alternative ways of interpreting any hierarchical scheme. Another form of organisational structure that brings with it its own form of accountability are the means by which the

school is divided into subject or house areas. Here subject discipline, because of their traditions and forms of operation bring their own modes of accountability, with individual staff being held responsible for, and to, a wide variety of different factors. Thirdly, accountability also manifests itself in an ideological and ethical form. Individual teachers have their own conceptions of the duties and responsibilities that membership of the occupation entails. These are often included under the general title of professionalism, but as I have argued in Chapter II that this concept is capable of being interpreted in a wide variety of different ways. Important factors, in this area, include both the 'socialising' effect of teacher training, the training and ethos emanating from the subject disciplines and the attitude engendered by teacher Trade Union activity. Each of these bring with them their own notions of duty and responsibility and therefore, their own definitions of accountability. These items, together, make it clear that accountability is a major factor in any examination of the operational aspects of management, what is not so clear, however, is the way in which it operates.

In attempting to examine this aspect of accountability I have identified two clear areas. In the first, actions are derived from ideas and concepts of accountability and, in the second accountability forms the basis of retrospective explanations and justifications of

actions. The former example is, in many ways, the most difficult and elusive to analyse. Most actions are the result of a mixture of motives and as these are not closely examined by a process of detailed self analysis, even the individuals concerned are not able to allocate, with any degree of accuracy, actions to specific motives. These illuminating characteristics make it tempting to follow the positivistic line advocated by Comte, and ignore those aspects that cannot be tested. This would be plainly absurd, for there is much evidence to support the claim that feelings, stimulated by aspects of the concept of accountability, influence actions. Much of this evidence has to be in the form of retrospective reports and it is clear that these need to be handled with a degree of circumspection, but this does not discredit or devalue their importance.

In many of the case study examples, personal interpretations of ideology appear to have acted as stimulants to the actions described.

In Case Study II I have suggested the arguments between the head of P.E. and the assistant represent only one facet of a much larger dispute, that is not identified in the case study notes. Equally, it seems evident that the actions of the two teachers had a basis in their personal beliefs and interpretations of professional action. This does not, in any way, attempt to invalidate a view that interprets their actions in terms of strategic devices, designed to achieve personal ends.

Here, and this is typical of the confused and confusing way in which accountability operates, motives based on an individual's own beliefs and ideological standpoints, short term strategies and retrospective attempts at justification all intermingle. Within this attempt at demonstrating the complicated way in which beliefs may motivate actions, I have partially touched upon the second mode of accountability, that which occurs in operational practice. Here it is used as a retrospective strategic device, to explain events and actions that may require justification or legitimisation. The case studies that I have used in this thesis are all concerned with formal disputes, the documents being prepared for 'official' consumption, they are, therefore, filled with numerous examples of this usage of accountability. An illustration of this occurs in Case Study I when the Trade Union develops arguments in opposition to a headteacher's attempted introduction of a rigidly bureaucratic 'consultative structure'. In order to gain the 'high ground' in this dispute the union claims that its members work as independent professionals, and as such oppose the headteacher's use of a 'crude - non professional' bureaucratic approach. This particular argument is interesting both in the way that it seeks to legitimise the teacher's opposition to the headteacher and in the way that it adapts certain theoretical perspectives, appertaining to professionals working in bureaucratic organisations, to its own ends.

Here again this analysis of motives can be criticised as being over simplistic, with the union's actions only being interpreted in terms of strategic devices. It may well have been the case that individual staff did perceive their roles within the school in this particular way, it being both speculative, and ultimately, unproductive to attempt to extend this aspect of the analysis further.

At the beginning of this thesis I refer to accountability as being an umbrella concept, encompassing within its parameters a number of the conceptual forms that operate, both in consort and independently of each other. So that some order can be brought to this potentially confusing mixture of concepts, I identify three forms; accountability based upon 'lawful' structures, accountability resulting from financial or contractual factors and accountability based upon the various aspects of professionalism. In Chapter IV I have used this typology as a basis for my case study analysis and I believe that it has succeeded in including most, if not all, the various modes of accountability that are encountered in this material. Of particular interest is the way in which these separate theoretical types are used in practice. It is common for them to be both used selectively and to be mixed at will, here it is possible to draw a parallel between these theoretical models of accountability and Selznick's conception of doctrine (ref Selznick P 1949

quoted in Young M D F page 133) who observes that ...."doctrine, being abstract, is judiciously selective and may be qualified at will in discourse, subject only to limitations of sense and logic"....

An example of this change from one form of accountability to another is illustrated in Case Study IV. Here the head teacher begins by holding the head of department to account by defining the issues in terms of legal contractual accountability, this is then changed to one of professionalism. Because of the diffuse nature of the accountability arguments this change is possible without the apparent need for a major restructuring of the issues. In the concluding statements, made in this case study, there is some indication of another change taking place. This time the move is away from the purely professional based arguments to ones that contain elements of hierarchy and bureaucracy, again these changes taking place within the rationality of logic of the overall concept.

In these concluding comments I have made a number of references to the notion of strategy and the way in which accountability is used in this form, there is however, a risk in assuming that these are little more than simple operational 'tricks' or manoeuvres. In Chapter III I have attempted to construct a hierarchical model of strategic activity, locating various forms of this behaviour to different levels within the structure. Accountability is seen as a fertile 'seed bed' for all

levels of strategic action. At its most simple, accountability, can be seen in the forms of control that are brought by various hierarchical forms of organisational structure. In Case Study I the 'consultative procedure' clearly indicated the way that this could operate, with individuals having their behaviour controlled by rigidly defined modes of practice. In a more complex way accountability is seen to generate at the symbolic level with the individual being held to account not by explicitly contrived rules, but by implications and innuendo. At the most complex and sophisticated level accountability operates through ideology, it being used as a means to control the actions of the individual. This is a difficult area to analyse and is closely linked to the concept of professionalism and the way in which it motivates actions. As with most other facets of this analysis of accountability, these three levels are, in practice, interlinked. Here more complex strategic scenarios are developed from groupings of relatively simple strategic devices, ideological control both influencing simple level strategic action and being composed of it.

In referring to the ways in which the formal documentation of the case studies only represents an 'official' reporting of events I have indicated that beneath this 'formal' veneer lies a complex underworld of micro political activity. Much of this domain is extremely inaccessible for it operates continuously and



without any predetermined structure of rules, other than those created by its own transitional rationality. Here self interest in its most crude form mixes with ideological and cultural factors as motives for action. As a means of examining organisational practice it provides an opportunity of looking at those aspects of behaviour that had previously been either ignored, dismissed as dysfunctional behaviour or labelled machiavellian - depending upon the perspective of the analyst. Its importance as a means of examining organisational practice is, in my opinion, unquestionable and it is currently much in vogue with many researchers. There are, however, a number of points that need to be raised. In contrast to the narrow functionalist model that sees organisations as having a fixed unity of purpose, with all those involved - excepting any dysfunctional deviants - working towards the same goals; the micro political view of organisation is concerned with fragmented minute examples of self interest. Both are of some value as theoretical models, micro politics having perhaps, the greatest value as it explores a relatively untapped area, but both present potential dangers. The risk that comes with taking a restrictive micro political viewpoint is in ignoring ideological and personal beliefs and in understanding the influence of more or less cohesive a group's pressures that have an effect on events and actions. Micro politics, as the name implies, is concerned with

detail and as such can fail to recognise, or even ignore, broader trends in behaviour. In practice the reliance on either the purely macro or micro perspectives is, when examining organisations, unprofitable, a combination of both forms being advisable if a further level of understanding is to be achieved.

When introducing the case study material, at the beginning of Chapter IV, I claimed that the concepts illustrated through this material, although dating for the most part from the 1970's, was contemporary in nature. Although holding to this belief certain factors need to be mentioned, especially those that relate to the 1987 Education act. My main concern has been in attempting to show how accountability acts both as a basis for actions and as a means of retrospectively explaining and justifying it. During the period, from which most of the case material comes, the law relating to contractual working time was more specific than under present legislation, with the schools' day being fixed at 9.00 a.m. - 3.45? and all out of school activities being non-contractual and therefore voluntary. Despite the fact that many teachers engaged themselves in activities outside of contractual time, and that through tradition and usage these became accepted practices, in the respective schools, the law did not impose any obligation on the member of staff. Under the present legislation (ref 1986 and 1988

Education Acts) this has changed and provided additional hours do not exceed a stated maximum, head teachers are empowered to instruct staff to attend out of school functions, staff meetings, parents meetings, games fixtures etc. Yet further restrictions are bound to come with the introduction of Devolved Financial Management of Schools. Under this scheme the head teacher, senior staff and Governing Body will be held accountable not only for the running of the school but, also much of its financial management. Individual teachers cannot divorce themselves from these changes and inevitably they will be held accountable for the use of resources and funds and, possibly, the raising of additional capital. By increasing the involvement of the Governors the closed pyramidal hierarchy of headteacher, deputies, heads of departments and assistants will also change, with a much greater input from Governors. It may be seen as a cynical observation, but, in the light of much of the history of teacher accountability in the 19th century the fact that teacher salaries represent the single biggest item in the school's expenditure account will not go unnoticed by, the Governors who have the responsibility of 'balancing the books'. I have made reference earlier in this thesis to the use of licensed teaching staff and it is possible that the introduction of them, coupled with a reduction of expensive senior posts, will greatly alter the hierarchical models that are illustrated in my

1970's examples. A more rapid turnover of teaching staff and the use of short term contracts, in order to reduce expenditure resulting from high incremental payments, may well become more commonplace. In this respect short term accountability may well be used as a strategic means of ensuring this rapid turnover. Despite these speculative observations concerning the immediate future and those technical changes that have affected the contractual working time of teachers I still believe the case study material to be of value. The strategic methods of many of the underlying assumptions remaining as contemporary and relevant factors in the accountability debate.

During the period of time that has elapsed between the beginning of this study and its conclusions, I have had to make a number of important changes to the way in which I have perceived the subject. On beginning the research I had a simplistic view of both accountability and its application to management studies. As a result of reading some of the relevant literature, and especially through an examination of the case study material I have had to change certain of my preconceived notions and refine many of the others. On beginning this research my ideas imposed a strict control on both the scope of accountability and its parameters of action. These were largely derived from a crude interpretation of the events that formed the basis of Case Study III. At this time, my main interest lay

with the legal interpretation of the concept of contractual duty and obligation and, its use as a means of controlling the behaviour of teaching staff. By examining some of the relevant literature, especially some of the more traditional interpretation of professional duty and also Weber's (ibid) accounts of the development of bureaucratic authority, I expanded my area of concern, seeing accountability as a potential factor in almost all aspects of management. At this time my ideas concentrated upon the notion that ideology and doctrine lay behind all events and actions and that the outcomes were a reflection of an individual's interpretation of various philosophies or beliefs. From this crude and naive view I turned to the micro level studies of style and strategy and by examining the case study data again changed my interpretation of the way in which accountability operated in organisational management. Here I developed the concept of accountability being used in an exclusively retrospective manner, as a means of explaining and justifying actions. This view, although as inaccurate as my former belief that accountability was exclusively an operational manifestation of ideology or belief, was encouraged by the nature of the data and a growing enthusiasm for micro political analysis. Consisting mainly of documents, reported statements and prepared texts the case data provided numerous exemplars of this form of strategic action, but it did not provide a

balanced picture. In preparing to write the final drafts of this thesis I have attempted to provide a more refined account, illustrating both the way in which accountability, in a variety of guises, operates as a basis for action and equally as a strategic means of justifying and rationalising them.

From the very beginning of my research a 'missing' factor was a concern. In dealing with Case Study III personal observations and a knowledge of the background made me aware of a wide range of factors, that while of crucial importance - both to the instigation of the Grievance Procedure, its handling, and its outcomes - were absent from the data available for analysis. This consideration, plus the way in which many of the individual items from Cases I - IV seemed to be extremely trivial and of no importance - at least to the outside observer if not those involved - led me to an awareness of the importance of the domain of micro politics. This means of analysis has proved to be of considerable value, for by being made aware of this level of organisational activity and of some of the ways in which it operates, it is possible to offer speculative interpretations of certain events and actions that otherwise appear as crude manifestations of ideological based belief. Despite its value, this area presents a number of methodological problems. I have, in this research, been tempted to draw an analogy between the problem and that faced by physicists in the

1930's. Here they had reached a stage where they could construct models illustrating atomic structures but, were unable to offer concrete proof of their findings because of their limited technical skill. At times, I have found micro politics to be as inaccessible as the atom.

The problems and limitations of a micro political analysis and also the difficulties surrounding the ideological basis of action indicate that there is still considerable scope for research. For the most part, I have based all my findings upon the data from four formal disputes. These are fixed in time, the details being representative of their own period and of their own unique characteristics. Of particular relevance to any further study is how informal disputes compare with the formal areas that I have dealt with. I have speculated upon the way in which the conceptual areas identified as important in my own case work can also be applicable to 'day to day' informal disputes but, I have not included any supporting evidence for this assertion. There has also been the suggestion that despite changes in legislation and in the nature of the occupation, the concepts that determined actions - up to 15 years ago - are still contemporary, this again needs to be tested by further case study research. Grievance Procedures, as I have indicated are rare occurrences and I have only considered one in this thesis, although another both coloured my interpretation of many events and aroused my

interest in the subject, therefore for any firm conclusions to be drawn, further research is essential. Finally I refer to the methodology that I have adopted for this research. By relying upon retrospective documents and reports I have encountered a number of serious problems in interpreting events, not only at the difficult micro political level, but in practical terms of characters, sequence of events etc. While it is difficult to envisage an acceptable alternative means of enquiry, that did not bring with it its own distinctive limitations, it is clear that some other technique would have been of considerable value.

In this thesis I have attempted to demonstrate some of the ways in which accountability manifests itself in the management of school teaching staff. I have tentatively explored a number of channels of enquiry but have not come up with any new, elegant or all embracing theories. This I do not find surprising for the nature of school management and organisations does not lend itself to this dramatic form of explanation, the matter being more effectively handled by a continuing process of analytical attrition. Each facet and interpretation of the concept being examined, and re-examined in an attempt to provide tentative conclusions that can be re-used in future research.

I trust that at least some of this thesis can form a small part of this endless process.



## APPENDIX I

### Some problems of Methodology

On a number of occasions, throughout this thesis, I have referred to the restrictions imposed by the data used, and by my methods of analysis, in this Appendix I expand on this area of concern.

The case study data, that forms the bulk of the material, that I have used for analysis consists of documents, reports and notes that have emanated from a number of disputes. For the most part they consist of letters, from individual union members to representatives of their associations, outlines of complaints and reports of incidents and the corresponding replies to these letters. In addition there are certain formal statements of policy that head teachers have circulated to their staff, these giving orders or recommending certain actions. One of the cases involved Local Education Authority advisors, and their reports are also utilised in the subsequent analysis. By far the most comprehensive item of case data comes with case study number III, here a formal Grievance Procedure is involved and both the aggrieved parties' notifications of Grievance, plus supporting documentation and the head teacher's replies are included. This material has been collected over a long period of time, some of it has come through personal contact with those involved in the disputes and the

rest, from colleagues who have been kind enough to 'look out' for items that may have been of use to me. In those cases where I have known the individual teachers I have been able to supplement the written data with interview material and have been fortunate in obtaining much help from the union officers, of both the major T.U.C. affiliated Teacher Trade Unions, who have been involved with the cases.

I have largely restricted the use of this case material to the chapters in the second half of this thesis, using the earlier sections to examine the theory and ideological backgrounds of the relevant concepts. In retrospect this may have been inadvisable and I would have been better placed if I had brought theory and practical example together at an earlier stage. I have, however, not resolved this problem. By keeping the case study analysis together I have been able to refer back to the conceptual outcomes of theoretical review, this seeming to be an easier and more straight forward approach rather than one based on total integration.

Whichever way the material is handled it brings with it certain restrictions and limitations that need to be examined. In almost all cases the documents are retrospective reports of incidents, this implies that their production is dependent upon memory with, in some cases, a considerable time lapse between the events and the records being made. In case study III the head of department produced a long diary listing the events that

he/she considered to be relevant to the dispute, the order and precise detail of these items having to be, more or less, accepted by those hearing the Grievance because of the absence of contradictory or corroborative information. Because this material has been prepared for use in a formal dispute it represents a public reporting of the perceived facts and issues. Even when letters and reports are issued for restrictive use their tone and content is couched in terms that tend to cover over personal, discrete opinions and views. In case study IV the correspondence between headteacher and head of department is clearly illustrative of this with the personal style thinly covering the formal content.

In many ways the greatest limitations that result from this data is, in a paradoxical way, one of its greatest strengths. The letters and reports etc are all expressions of personal opinion and interpretation. Events are interpreted in widely different ways, with the various parties attributing motives to actions in conflicting and confusing ways. One of the problems facing those who research this area lies in trying to detect certain 'factual points' that may be important to an understanding of the case. Despite these problems, in my opinion the benefits heavily outweigh the disadvantages for these personal opinions and interpretations give insights into the wider implications of the disputes. By examining the subjective and speculative writings it is possible to

detect, at least some, of the underlying motives and rationales that lie at the roots of the disputes. This is even possible when examining texts that have been consciously 'doctored' in order to ensure that certain strategic outcomes will be achieved. Retrospective attempts at justifications and the rhetoric of a particular ideology or doctrine may have more profound implications that are associated with simple strategic 'tricks'.

Although the documents provide information and insights that go beyond the bare texts there is a genuine problem when basing an analysis on this form of text. I have made frequent reference, in earlier chapters, to the underworld of micro politics that is seen to exist in the informal organisational domain. In many cases it is impossible even to speculate about these alternative interpretations and the motives that, in reality, have such an important effect on events and actions.

In completing this thesis I am only too well aware of the problems and see no easy solution, if further research is to obtain more penetrating insights into organisational activity.

The presence of any third party immediately affects the situation and, in most school disputes it seems highly unlikely that access, either to head teacher's or assistant staff, would be likely. A possible technique, that might provide useful data, is the use of role play but this brings with it its own severe limitations.

Another alternative method could involve the use of imaginary, specially prepared case studies. These would provide a scenario, characters and dialogue for an imaginary dispute. Here, head and assistant teachers could examine the case studies and then fill in prepared report sheets that would record the opinions and interpretations of those examining the cases. Such an experiment would be carried out without the identities of those taking part being noted on the response sheets, thus introducing a valuable element of confidentiality into the exercise. The construction of the case studies and the report sheets would be very difficult. It would be all too easy for the researcher to construct models of this nature, with the resultant findings either being meaningless or reproducing the results that those involved were seeking to find.

Organisations and Managerial practice effect the lives of all those involved and any crude attempts at investigating behaviour can disturb the delicate 'balance' that exists. At worst it can impose on the private affairs of those involved, and aware of this risk, I have attempted to obscure both the identity of those involved in the case studies and to make the locations of the various schools as obscure as possible. While not changing the content of the case studies I have made certain judicious alterations to the format in order to assist in concealing the individual's identity.

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# Appendix II Model Grievance Procedure: Collective Disputes Procedure

*Section 1: Individual Grievances*

*Section 2: Collective Disputes*

## SECTION 1

### A MODEL GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

for Teachers in Primary and Secondary Schools  
to meet the requirements of the  
Contracts of Employment Act 1972

Association of Education Committees  
Association of Municipal Corporations  
County Councils Association  
Welsh Joint Education Committee  
Joint Committee of the Four Secondary Associations  
National Association of Head Teachers  
National Association of Schoolmasters  
National Union of Teachers

Following discussions between the Associations of local education authorities and of education committees and the Inner London Education Authority and the Teachers' Organisations on the requirements of the Contracts of Employment Act 1972 relating to Grievance Procedures, the model procedure set out below is commended to all employing local education authorities, managing and governing bodies, and individual members of the teaching profession employed in county, voluntary controlled and special agreement schools. It is emphasised that the procedure indicated in this document is designed to deal with *individual* grievances or disputes. It is not intended that it should be applied to collective disputes.

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### A MODEL GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE (Contracts of Employment Act 1972)

Teachers' grievances can arise from a variety of sources. They can arise among members of the teaching staff or with the head teacher. They can be of a relatively simple nature or of fundamental importance. They can involve the managers or governors of the school or the administration of the school and the local authority. To meet this situation it seems desirable to set out:

first, a procedure which may enable a grievance to be resolved informally and without recourse to any subsequent stage;  
secondly, a completely formal procedure where the first kind of procedure is inappropriate or has failed.

Advice on a similar procedure for head teachers in their relations with their managers or governors or the local authority follows a section dealing with members of the teaching staff.

## **A. Members of the Teaching Staff**

A.1 (i) Where a member of the teaching staff has a grievance with the local authority or with the managers or governors which does not involve any other member of the staff, a direct approach should be made to the chief education officer or the managers or governors, as may be appropriate.

A.1 (ii) Where a teacher has a grievance which involves other members of the staff he should first of all endeavour to resolve the matter by direct approach to the member of staff involved or in discussion with the head of department, or other appropriate senior member of staff or, if necessary, in discussion with the head teacher.

A.1 (iii) Where a member of staff requests a personal interview with head of department or other appropriate senior member of staff or head teacher it should be granted within five working days of the request being made.

A.1 (iv) The head of department or other appropriate senior member of staff or the head teacher (as in (iii) above) should seek to resolve the problem personally or, by mutual agreement, in consultation with other member(s) of the staff. The head teacher may also, by mutual agreement, seek consultation with the chairman of the managers or governors, officers of the LEA, or with representatives of the teachers' organisation(s) as may be thought appropriate.

A.2 (i) Where the matter has not been resolved under any of the procedures referred to above, the member of staff concerned should submit a formal written notice of the grievance to the head teacher, and to the person concerned, if other than the head teacher. The head teacher should then forthwith make a formal written report to the managers or governors and send a copy to the chief education officer.

A.2 (ii) The managers or governors, in consultation, where appropriate, with the chief education officer or his representative, should seek to settle the problem. All relevant documents should be submitted to them and they should allow the parties concerned, if they so wish, to make their submissions, each of them being accompanied, if they so wish, by a friend or an official representative of their union or association.

The meeting for this purpose should be arranged within ten days.

A.2 (iii) There should be a right of appeal on the part of any person or body involved in the issue to such standing or *ad hoc* body as may be agreed locally in consultation between the authority and the organisations of teachers in the area.

A.2 (iv) All relevant documents should be submitted to the body so constituted, which should meet within ten days or as soon as practicable thereafter and should allow the parties concerned, if they so wish, to make their submissions, each of them being accompanied by a friend or an official representative of their union or association.

## **B. Head Teachers**

B.1 (i) Where a head teacher has a grievance he should first of all endeavour to resolve the matter by direct approach to the person concerned. If not resolved he should then discuss the matter personally with the appropriate officer of the local education authority, who may be a member of the advisory staff of the authority or a member of the administrative staff.

B.1 (ii) Where the matter remains unresolved the head teacher should discuss it with the chief education officer or his representative, who may, also by mutual agreement, seek consultation with the Chairman of the managers or governors, or with representatives of the teachers' organisation(s) concerned, as may be thought appropriate.

B.2 (i) Where the matter is not resolved under B.1 above the head teacher should submit a formal written notice of the grievance to the chief education officer and/or

to the managers or governors of the school, as the nature of the grievance makes appropriate.

B.2 (ii) Where the grievance lies with the managers or governors a meeting should be arranged by them within ten days, or as soon as is practicable thereafter. The head and any other teacher who may be involved should be entitled to be accompanied by a friend or by a representative of the teachers' organisation(s) concerned.

B.2 (iii) Where the grievance lies with the local education authority, whether or not the support of the managers or governors of the school has been sought by the head teacher, the chief education officer should refer the grievance to the appropriate committee or sub-committee of the local education authority with all the relevant documents and, where this is relevant, with the observations of the managers or governors of the school. Such a meeting should be arranged within ten days or as soon as is practicable thereafter. The parties should be entitled to be accompanied by a friend or an official representative of their union or association.

B.2 (iv) Where the grievance has been with the managers or governors and the appropriate procedure under B.2 (ii) above has been applied, reference will be to the appropriate committee or sub-committee of the local education authority. Again all relevant documents should be placed before the committee concerned and a meeting should be arranged within ten days or as soon as is practicable thereafter to resolve the issue. The parties should be entitled to be accompanied by a friend or an official representative of their union or association.

B.2 (v) Where the procedures outlined in B.2 (ii), (iii) and (iv) above have been followed, and the problem is still unresolved, there shall remain a right of appeal as under A.2 (iii) and (iv) above.

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#### *Note on the application of this procedure to Voluntary Aided Schools*

In subsequent discussions with representatives of the Church of England and the Catholic Education Council the modifications set out below were agreed in order to take account of the dual relationship of teachers in aided schools on the one hand to the managers/governors as their employers, and on the other to the LEA in respect of many of their conditions of employment. It is hoped that LEAs will find the amended model useful when consulting the managers/governors of non-C of E and non-RC aided schools. It is a matter for consideration whether the amended model should be applied to controlled or special-agreement schools in the light of the rules of management or articles of government and of the provisions of the Education Acts relating to religious education.

Preamble: procedures must not conflict with rules of management or articles of government.

A.2 (iii) line 3 After "authority" add "the appropriate voluntary school authorities".

B.1 (i) line 3 After "personally" insert "with the Chairman of the managers or governors or, if the nature of the grievance makes it appropriate for him to do so,"

B.1 (ii) Amend to read—"where the matter remains unresolved the head teacher, after consultation with the Chairman of the managers or governors, where appropriate, should discuss it with the chief education officer or his representative or with representatives of the teachers organisation(s) concerned, as the nature of the grievance makes appropriate."

B.2 (i) Amend to read—"Where the matter is not resolved under B.1 above, the head teacher should submit a formal written notice to the managers or governors of the school, or to the chief education officer, as the nature of the grievance makes appropriate, and if the latter, the head teacher should inform the Chairman of the managers or governors of his action."

- 2 (iii) Amend to read—"Where the grievance lies with the local education authority, the head teacher should report the matter to the chief education officer inform the Chairman of the managers or governors accordingly"
- 2 (iv) Delete.
- 2 (v) Delete reference to B.2 (iv).

*September, 1972*  
*Revised September, 1973*